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SKETCHES
IN SPAIN,

DURING

THE YEARS, 1829-30-31, 32,

BY CAPTAIN S. E. COOK, R.N.

K.T.S. F.G.S.

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VOL. I.



PARIS,

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1834.

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THE LORD OF PRUDHOE

THE LORD

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INTRODUCTION.

THESE sketches are a summary or digest of observations made during a residence of nearly three years in Spain, with the exception of a few weeks during the heats. Some of the various subjects were originally objects of enquiry, and others offered themselves as acquaintance with the country gave increased facilities of examination. There will be found descriptive tours in various parts, some of which are very little known even to the natives, and have never been noticed by the travellers who have given accounts of the country, and have generally followed pretty nearly the same track with each other.

An analysis of the mode of governing, which is very little known out of Spain, and the strange composition of different branches of the government. The military and civil branches of administration, the clergy and monks, and ecclesiastical establishment, and revenues. The manners of the people. The robbers, and system pursued by that race of people. The commerce and revenue, with an ac-

count of some curious manners of raising the revenue, closely connected with the modes used in the East. An account of the marbles, wines, horses, and mines, in their economical point of view.

There is a descriptive sketch of the rise, progress, decay, and revival of the architecture, with notices of the best architects. The sculpture is arranged, and an historical account given of its progress, from the earliest time up to the present, with notices of the sites where the best works of each author are to be found. A similar notice of the painters, on the same plan, giving a complete sketch of all the schools in both branches, in which scarcely a good member of either is wanting.

The last division of the work treats of natural history. In it will be found, an account of the forests of Spain, including the Pyrenees, and a notice of the natural tree vegetation throughout the country, with their zones or degrees of elevation, and some species either new or very little known.

A short summary of the ornithology, and a notice of the species which came under notice, of which there is none to be met with. The conclusion is a general view of the geological structure of the greater part of Spain, a great deal of which is new, or only imperfectly known. The chapters on forests and geology have illustrative plans to facilitate their explanation.

These subjects are treated distinctly, so as to condense and bring them separately under the view of the reader,

without travelling backwards and forwards, unconnectedly, as he must have otherwise done. For example, at Granada, there is General Description, Architecture, Painting, Sculpture, Geology, and some other miscellaneous information. In treating these subjects seriatim, they would be mixed up with similar articles in several other places, and the whole made less intelligible than by the present plan. The utmost care has been taken to condense and concentrate; otherwise, it is clear, the work would have been very much extended, which it has been the object to avoid.

It need not be remarked to any one who has sought for information respecting this country, how complete a blank it is in most of the branches treated of. This reason only has induced the offering these notices, which may, it is to be hoped, guide the enquiries of those who seek for it, until better or more ample descriptions are found; the work being exactly as it is named, and not at all intended as general essays or regular disquisitions.

The author has been guided in his enquiries solely by native authorities, either in written documents or in oral information, which may be obtained in considerable quantity by those who take time to acquire the language and live with the people, who are the most communicative and intelligent in the world, when once acquainted with them, and the most disposed to forward the views of those who may seek for information, of any of the nations of Europe who have successively passed under his observation. The obligations conferred in this manner, and in a series

of the greatest kindness in the power of a humane and most polished people to pay to a stranger who had no other claim on them than the judging impartially on the subjects relating to the country, are more than he can repay, and must for ever claim his warmest gratitude.

It is needless to observe that the inaccuracies of the statements in circulation respecting this country are very great. The more amusing and best written of the books, published of late, swarm in errors, as to their *facts*, although sufficiently pleasing in the manner of writing. The French and we are equally to blame in this, and it is to be the more regretted as both countries have had very extensive dealings with Spain.

Every article is written absolutely as the subject presented itself to the writer. Not a piece of sculpture, painting, or any other is mentioned but what has been examined, unless where otherwise stated, or, as in some places, it was necessary to fill up blanks, or round the information. These cases are rare, and are always stated; the author being responsible for all the errors contained in the work.

A number of these subjects may be thought foreign to the professional habits of a naval officer. To this it is only necessary to observe, that every one is master of his own time, and of the leisure so plentifully afforded in these times to those who are without interest. The greater part of the writer's life has been passed in the countries where some of these subjects only can be studied, and his ac-

quaintance with the country in question dates from his earliest youth, when the language and manners of the country became familiar to him. In other respects, had there been the means, the longest chapter in the book would have been devoted to professional subjects. That is no longer possible: these days have seen the annihilation of the mighty engine which once threatened the world, and many of the actors in these catastrophes are living. There are no longer materials for writing on the majestic navy of Spain, which has followed the fate of so many of her machines of power and greatness.

Besides the persons enumerated in the work, and a vast number of others in Spain, the author has to express his acknowledgments to Mr. Lindley, secretary to the Horticultural Society, for the names of some oaks; and to Mr. Lonsdale, secretary to the Geological Society, for those of some fossils with which he was unacquainted. It is needless to observe, that there is nothing invidious meant in the comparison between the countries occasionally mentioned; those of France and England were selected as the most advanced, in order to show their relative situation with a country so unfortunate as to government, and the circumstances of late years, as Spain has been. Every individual mentioned or alluded to, is so merely in his public capacity, and as belonging, in some degree, to history; as are all the transactions referred to.

The delay in publication of these sketches, has enabled that part relating to the recent changes to be brought up

to a comparatively recent period. The government which is depicted as ruling at the time these observations were made, cannot be admired by any Englishman ; but it is due to justice to say, that the author had no personal ground of complaint against them. In all his dealings with them, they behaved as became the head of a great and polished people. The mutual obligations of protection on the one hand, and of respect and obedience to the laws and customs of the country on the other, being reciprocally performed, they parted in peace. The only alteration made, in consequence of the delay of publication, besides the notes on recent changes, is the substitution in a few places of *was* for *is*, to denote the alterations consequent on the fall of the ministry of Calomarde. It might otherwise have appeared to those unacquainted with the country, that several objectionable parts of that time still existed.

In examining the details of society and government in this singular country, the reader has to bear in mind that there is no inconsiderable mass of contradictions ; of anomalies and paradoxes ; of intelligence on the part of the people, with stupidity on that of the governors ; of freedom and of slavery ; of rudeness bordering on savage life, with the highest civilization. The jarring operation of these causes and combinations give the interest to this country which most people feel, but none can truly appreciate without having witnessed them. The inestimable advantage of the varied pursuits of which these sketches are the outline, was to show the people, as under no other circumstances they

could have been seen to the same degree ; from high to low, through every rank and class of society. It is needless to remark the advantage of varying the studies in a country like this, where every portion has its share of interest, and the most wild and dreary regions furnish their quota of information or amusement.

The history of the transactions of the French in Spain, of course, alludes to times past, and not to the present. It would be impossible to form any idea of the true state and prospects of the Peninsula, without touching on them. It would be uncandid not to state that the most of these dealings are not the subject of his admiration. They are however past, it is to be hoped, for ever, and his individual sentiments are, that the peace of Europe, and the gradual amelioration of the governments in the western part of it, are inseparably connected with the maintenance of the good understanding at present existing between France and England.

So far from its reflecting on the present order of things in France, his conviction is, that the last invasion of Spain is one of many other acts, which lessen the regret every one would naturally feel for the fall of the elder branch of the Bourbons, whose followers, were a restoration practicable, would, at no distant period, infallibly cause a similar catastrophe to recur.

could have been seen to the same degree; from high to low, through every rank and class of society. It is not less to remark the advantage of visiting the studies in a country like this, where every portion has its share of interest, and the most wild and distant regions furnish their quota of information or amusement.

The history of the transactions of the French in Spain, of course, relates to times past, and not to the present. It would be impossible to form any idea of the true state and prospects of the Peninsula, without looking on them. It would be unwise not to state that the most of these changes are not the subject of his observations. There are however, it is to be hoped, for every and his individual acquaintance, that the peace of Europe, and the gradual extinction of the governments in the western part of it, are inseparably connected with the maintenance of the good understanding at present existing between France and England. I need not say that the present order of things

in France, the constitution, that the last session of parliament is one of many other acts, which form the right way, and which necessarily led to the fall of the other branch of the constitution, those followers, were a real and true people, which is no distant period, including some of the most important to the

the history of the French in Spain, of course, relates to times past, and not to the present. It would be impossible to form any idea of the true state and prospects of the Peninsula, without looking on them. It would be unwise not to state that the most of these changes are not the subject of his observations. There are however, it is to be hoped, for every and his individual acquaintance, that the peace of Europe, and the gradual extinction of the governments in the western part of it, are inseparably connected with the maintenance of the good understanding at present existing between France and England. I need not say that the present order of things

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SKETCHES IN SPAIN.

CHAPTER I.

From Madrid to Cordova, Granada, Malaga, Ronda, and Seville.

I entered Spain by Bayonne, in October, 1829; and after examining the capital, the *sitios*, or royal residences, and other objects in the neighbourhood, set out for Cordova by the diligence. We took up a part of the escort outside of Madrid, these people not being allowed to enter the gates; and as we crossed *La Mancha*, the number was increased by horsemen, until it presented a formidable appearance. Amongst the equestrians, who carried each two carabines, a sabre, pistols and other arms, rode the famous Polynario, who, like most of the others, was a reclaimed bandit. The portion of them who sat on the roof had spare muskets, ranged and pointed in such a manner, that any traveller looking out of the windows would, in case of their going off accidentally, have been placed in imminent danger.

At Andujar, whilst the other passengers were retiring to avail themselves of the short period allotted to repose in these vehicles, I strolled out to enjoy the first delicious night of Andalusia. On returning, I found all the guards spread and snoring in the *patio*, into which the rooms

opened in the oriental manner, each with his whole assortment of arms about his person, ready for the early start of morning. Their Salvator-like figures (they were splendid men), with the bright moonlight, had a striking and picturesque effect.

No place, even in this country, where there are so many memorials of the decay of ancient grandeur, is more calculated to dissipate any favourable anticipation than the celebrated city of Cordova. The streets are narrow and ill paved, convents in great numbers, the beggars in still increasing ratio. Besides innumerable stragglers, a flying detachment, of about fifty, moved from place to place, as it suited their basking in the sun, or supplies were expected.

The only remains of industry and art for which the city was so celebrated in the time of the Moors, are the trades of silversmiths and leather-dressers; vast numbers of boots and shoes are sent to the capital. The inn was wretched, and there was no *café* or place of amusement of any kind. The *realistas*, or royalist volunteers, a corps got up in opposition to the constitutional or national guards, and generally composed of the lowest rabble, were in great force in this place, which is celebrated for its adherence to the doctrines of pure royalism, and has a superabundance of the class which is generally enrolled in that body. The cathedral * has been so often described, that a detail of it is unnecessary; even in its altered state, it is undoubtedly the greatest architectural curiosity in Europe; the effect on entering, the intersections of twenty-nine rows of columns, with nineteen others, the dim light just sufficient to shadow the distances, the strange effect of these colonnades over an extent of 600 feet by 400, and with the height of only 30, cannot be described, and stands unequalled. In the

* For the paintings in the cathedral, &c. see School of Cordova.]

time of the Mahometans, it must have been prodigiously greater; the entrance to the *patio*, or enclosure which is in front, was not in the centre, as described in the books, but considerably on one side, no doubt to give greater effect to the dark wood of columns which presented itself to the spectator on crossing the holy threshold. The original gateway, with its brazen gates, remains, although crowned by a noble but misplaced tower and belfry. The intercolumniations on the outside are filled up, and converted into chapels; instead of the flat and uniform roof which overspread it, and increased the effect by its dark colour, the colonnades are now surmounted by whitewashed *bovedas*, or arches, which contribute only to show the defects of the proportions which the darkness before concealed. Many lanterns and cupolas have been opened throughout, and add still more to the departure from the views of the Moorish architects; these evils are however trifling, and might be easily remedied; the fatal error was the building the choir which occupies the centre. This is a Gothic church, reared amidst the forest of columns, to serve as a place for the *Cabildo* to celebrate their ceremonies. In its original state certainly it was not suited to christian worship, much less to the pompous ceremonial of the Spanish Church; but the choir might have been built in the *patio* where there is ample room, and this extraordinary and wonderful production of the Arabs left untouched to serve as cloisters or adjuncts. During the alteration of the building, which did not take place until some centuries after the conquest, a dispute arose between the authorities; the *Ayuntamiento*, or corporation of the city, denying the right of the *Cabildo*, or chapter, to make such arrangements. It was referred when too late to Charles the Fifth, who was unfortunately absent in some other part of his dominions; and before his answer was obtained, which conveyed a severe censure to the

parties, the mischief was done. Otherwise the admirer of Moorish antiquity would not have had to deplore the injury done to one of its most curious specimens. With the assistance of a workman, I ascended the roof, and found a part of the original woodwork, most of which has been replaced by pine, in consequence of decay from the penetrating of the water through the tiles, which are laid too horizontally. The under part, which was seen from the mosque and formed the ceiling, was unpainted, the side of each plank being slightly carved on the edges, and it has now the colour of old oak or chestnut. This is the *alerce* of the old writers, which has hitherto baffled inquiry as to the tree which produced it; it is resinous and fine grained, quite unlike the various pines which I subsequently found formed the woodwork of the Alhambra, the Alcazar of Seville, and other Moorish works, or that of any pine I am acquainted with. There are traditions of its growing in the neighbourhood, but no tree answering the description is to be heard of; nor have I found it in any botanical work. The decisive proof of its not being an indigenous tree, is its not being mentioned in the curious book of Arab agriculture, written by a Moor of Seville, in the 12th century, and translated by Banqueri. He dedicates a large portion of his book to the enumeration of trees and shrubs, describing their qualities, modes of culture, even to transplanting large trees, and knew as well as the professors of the present day the mode of effecting it, the consequences of moving trees from bad to good soil, or the reverse; that some sorts bore the meddling with their roots better than others, and most other arcana of the art, which are believed to be modern discoveries. He names various sorts of pines, but never mentions or alludes to the *alerce*, which it is certain he must have known had it been indigenous or even cultivated. The subject is well worth inquiry, as few woods are known

capable of resisting, as this has done, the effects of a period of nine centuries; the specimen I speak of being perfectly uninjured.* The roof is composed of a number of parallel parts, each about the width of a common house, and separated by gutters of solid lead, and of great weight, cast in moulds, as the Moors were ignorant of the art of rolling metal. It is supposed to have been brought from the mines of Linares. The tiles are large and very light, being laid alternately over and under; a defective mode still general in Spain, which only imperfectly excludes the water, unless the pitch be very high. To this construction is owing the destruction of the timber below, and it is the idle excuse for the barbarous innovation of the *bovedas*.

The country around has the bare and uninteresting appearance so usual in Spain; it is, however, improving; plantations of olives are daily making, and if they persevere, in a few years the whole line of the Guadalquivir will be covered with them. They improve the appearance of the landscape, their produce is extremely valuable, and the corn and pasture land under them is benefited instead of being injured by their shade. A great deal of this planting is owing to an excellent law, or prescriptive custom, by which the inhabitants of places have a right to plant any

* Since my return to England I have been shown a communication made to the Horticultural Society by Mr. Drummond, Consul at Tangier, who had been engaged in investigating the species which has received the name of *alerce* in Spain. It appears quite clear from his account, that this tree is the *Thuya articulata*, which grows in the mountains of Barbary, and of which a large plank had been sent from Tangier, and may be seen in Regent-street. It is well worth the attention of those engaged in procuring timber for the navy and for other purposes requiring durability.

I have subsequently made every enquiry and consulted every authority, without finding a trace of the existence of this tree in Spain. It is extremely probable, that in a work of such sanctity as a mosque, intended to be second only to that of Mecca, wood, known by that ingenious people to be so durable, should be transported from Africa for the purpose.

portion of the common lands, which then becomes the property of the individual.

The immense value of these olive grounds, probably the most productive in Europe, is diminished by the miserable mode of making the oil, owing to a privilege possessed by the lords of manors of grinding at their own mills, which are often inadequate to the purpose. The consequence is, the olives lie in heaps for weeks, and the produce acquires the rancid flavour which unfits it for any taste but that of the natives. An individual at Seville, who resided some time in Tuscany, studied their mode of making the oil, and adopted it with complete success; producing samples equal to those of the Arno. Use, which is sovereign everywhere, but especially in Spain, operated against him, and the people unanimously declared they would not eat his oil unless it could be sold at the price of the inferior sort they had always been accustomed to.

From Cordova I went to Ecija, which stands in a hollow on the Xenil, above its confluence with the Guadalquivir. It is surrounded by an amphitheatre of rising ground, owing to which, and the want of ventilation, it is reputed to be the hottest place in Spain. This intense heat is necessary for its salubrity, for in a cool season *tercianas*, or agues, prevail; this is by no means uncommon in this country, the cause apparently being, that the extreme heat and dryness of the atmosphere causes the evaporation to be complete, carrying off the miasmata. It is quite a Moorish place, the lower class of inhabitants being of pure blood; it is of considerable extent, but of little commerce or industry, and celebrated for the robbers it has always produced. There are many curious towers, ornamented with paintings and *azulejos*, or coloured tiles.

I hired horses to proceed to Granada. We set out in company with the *Intendente*, who was proceeding to a

place in the same direction. The road was covered with his suite, and a wild escort, like Arabs, who accompanied him. We were indebted to this accident, from what I afterwards ascertained, for not meeting with a party of the *Niños* (children) *de Ecija*, as they were termed, who were robbing on the road at the time. The country is composed of dreary uplands of clay, with scattered *cortijos*, or farm buildings, for housing the produce.

I slept at Alameda, a large village at the foot of a *cerro*, or height; it is a meeting point to several roads, and the country about it is well cultivated. I was not called in the morning, according to orders, and on descending to inquire the cause, I found the horse I rode had been taken ill. A large party of *Majos* (the name given to the people who are above the lowest order, and wear the old national costume, and are generally found hanging about the *posadas* or such places) had assembled, and were in consultation. They had pronounced him to have *colico ventoso*, and were administering physic in a manner new to me, and which it is unnecessary to describe. The animal, which was a very good one, did not appear to be very ill, but I was unwilling to take him out, under such a judgment, and proposed that a mule should be hired at the joint expense of the master at Ecija and myself, to carry the baggage, whilst I took the guide's horse. I was ignorant of the law of Spain at the time, by which, in such cases, the man who furnishes animals for a journey is obliged to complete his contract. The liberality of my offer was, therefore, much applauded by the council, who undertook to mediate and fix a just price to all parties. An animal was accordingly provided, and we sat out for Loja, where we arrived in the evening.* The

* The horse recovered, and in the course of accidents became the property of Jose Maria, the famous robber, of whom notice will be given hereafter, and whose troop was mounted on the picked animals of his captures.

country is hilly and more interesting than that of the preceding day; we passed the rich Hoya, or basin of Archidona, which is a red marl to the depth, in places, of thirty feet. The *posada* at Loxa was full, and I lodged in the house of a family of which there were three daughters of eminent beauty. They were quite fair, a circumstance I afterwards found not uncommon in these mountains, and they assured me all their family, which lived in a neighbouring town, were equally so; they spoke excellent Castilian, with an accent quite different from that of Granada.

In the evening my guide had made acquaintance with a *cosario*, or carrier, of Antequera, who was going with his asses to Granada, and had privately arranged that we should travel together. Finding me averse to the proposal, from the delay it would cause, he manœuvred to delay our departure, and at a short distance we overtook his friend; when he immediately fell into the line. Amongst the passengers, was a lady of most prepossessing appearance, who was travelling to Granada, with her servant. She was riding an ass, like the rest, but was provided with pillows and other conveniences, and the *mayoral*, or chief of the caravan, walked by her side, guiding her palfrey and paying her the most respectful and assiduous attention. It rained heavily, and the *barro*, or clay, then saturated with water, was almost impassable for the animals. I would willingly have remained, and kept company with the party; but their pace made it impossible we should arrive that day at Granada. I therefore had no alternative but to dislodge my guide, who was perfectly at home and made every effort to remain; when every other plan had failed, he said his mule was knocked up and unable to proceed, and could never reach the capital that day; and endeavoured to prevail on one of the attendants of the *cosario* to back his assertion. At length I succeeded, and we continued our route. We met some *galeras*,

or covered waggons, which the mules were dragging through roads apparently impossible to be passed. In the afternoon, the weather cleared, and the Moorish city was seen in all its splendour, the Sierra Nevada towering above it to the right.

Whilst I was dining at the miserable *venta* of Santa Catalina, a young man arrived from Granada, well mounted, and dressed in the *majo*, or fancy national costume, in the utmost perfection. I presumed he came to meet and escort the lady, who was slowly following in the cavalcade I had left behind; an ancient practice still kept up in the south, to friends arriving or departing.

We passed through Santa Fé, where the army of the catholic kings, as they are termed, Ferdinand and Isabella, was encamped during the siege. It is now a miserable place, with a sumptuous modern church. In the evening I arrived at Granada. As the measures I had been obliged to resort to the preceding day, to separate my guide from the party, were not exactly in unison with the customs of Spain, and might appear harsh or unseasonable, I desired him, when he met the *cosario* on his return, to apologize and explain the reason, as the loss of time to me was of the greatest importance at that late period of the year.

The view of Granada, on the side of the Vega by which I approached it, is on the whole the best; it embraces the entire extent of a place, which in magnificence of exterior will not disappoint the most sanguine expectation. The length of the city, with its numerous spires and domes, from the suburb beyond the gate of Elvira on the east, to the bank of the Xenil, which incloses it to the west, crowned by the red towers of the Alhambra, with the numerous gardens and vineyards interspread, the rugged and broken range which conducts the eye to the eternal snow on the south, form an *ensemble* which scarcely requires the assistance of the ro-

mance attached to its history to heighten. On the western side, the Xenil issues from a lovely dell, which may be followed for some distance amidst vineyards, woods of olives, and mulberries. The Monachil, a stream of nearly equal force, giving or receiving its name from a village which is in a lovely and sequestered spot, seldom visited even by the natives of the city, joins its waters to the Xenil, above the *paseos*, or public walks, which are amongst the charms of Granada. Above Monachil is the shortest road to the Sierra Nevada, a wild and bare ridge separating its streams from those of the Xenil at their sources, until they unite in the plain below. After issuing from the gorge which the village occupies, the Monachil takes a sweep through a flat in front of the village of Azubia, the most beautiful of all those of the environs of the capital. It is seated on a rising ground, which is beautifully laid out in the style of Frascati, with gardens and country-houses, noble cypresses and other trees, and is a favourite retreat of the Granadinos. Part of the operations of the siege were carried on from it. Beyond, to the west, all is bleak and dreary waste.

On the eastern side of the city, outside the open space in front of the gate of Elvira, stretching along the rising grounds above the Vega, is the rich domain of the Cartuxa. A few friars, of the most absurd and useless order of the whole, have a tract like a paradise; it is divided into an upper and lower park, the upper division being surrounded by a lofty wall. In the present impoverished state of agriculture, it is estimated at 10,000 dollars, or 2000*l.* per annum; a large sum in Spain. Above this, by a long and continued ascent, you reach Viznar, the country palace of the Archbishop; the house is modern, but it perfectly recalls the idea of the Moorish style of country-houses. There is a garden in the oriental style, a spacious corridor or gallery for exercise, and a *mirador*, or look-out, which commands

an extensive view over the Vega, the Soto de Roma, and to the mountains of Loxa. It is full of pictures, but few are good. At a short distance from the palace, the copious stream which supplies the capital* with delicious water, gushes from the limestone. The rising grounds of which Viznar forms the summit, are covered with villages and hamlets enjoying delightful air amidst the most beautiful culture. The Vega, and country below Granada, notwithstanding its celebrity, is a poor and ungrateful soil; only constant irrigation and the most unintermitting labour produce a decent return. It is mostly a sandy loam, running into clay; the expense of culture is so great, that the corn of Old Castile can bear a double land carriage, besides the freight, and be sold in their market to advantage. As in the other parts of the south, the weeds are so rank that their rude implements are unequal to contend with them, and they plough round the *palmeto*, and even the *artemisia*s and *passerina*, which are the curse of the soil. The population of the town is of a mixed character; much Jewish blood may be observed, and the dialect is a most corrupt one; but amongst the *labradores*, or farmers, and yeomanry who attend the markets, some noble specimens of the finest Moorish race may be observed. Their forms are broad, but light; a peculiar upright gait without stiffness; the arms are set back and carried with peculiar grace, and the right hand is constantly used in speaking, with dignity and ease. The eyes are rather sunk, and the sockets extremely large, with the eyebrows proportionate; an aquiline nose, with a bold and regular curve, and the mouth rather wide, with full but extremely flexible lips, uncovering the finest teeth in the world: these are the cha-

* The capital will be frequently used, in the Spanish mode; which applies it to the chief cities of the provinces. When Madrid is meant, it will be easily understood.

racteristics of the cast. The complexion is dark, and sometimes slightly tinged with a coppery hue, and they are without the profusion of hair which marks some of the other races of African descent.

The interior of the city presents its Moorish character unaltered. It forms three great divisions; that of the west is bounded by the Xenil, and covers the straggling heights on the western side of the Alhambra, from which it is separated by gardens and vineyards, and terminates on the banks of the Darro to the east. The larger division is that which covers the flat ground along the Carrera del Darro, the Zacatin, and district to the Puerta de Elvira, and the extensive range of the more modern part of the city which lies between the upper districts and the Vega. The third is the Moorish quarter of the Albaycin, and a straggling district beyond it ending above the Puerto de Elvira. The extent of the city is thus very considerable; on the upper side, the Moorish walls are nearly entire, and many gates remain. Its greatest length is from east to west, along the base of the mountain. The Darro cuts nearly the centre of this line, emerging from a bold and picturesque gorge, above which is the Alhambra and Generalife. The stream is scanty in ordinary times, but it is of great use in cleansing the most thickly inhabited part of the city; it is scarcely seen, being covered by buildings and bridges, in the style of those of Venice. Below, its course is through the Carrera del Darro, an open space, now made into a promenade, which joining that of the Xenil near the junction of their streams, forms walks and rides of unrivalled beauty. The Xenil is at all times a copious stream; from its banks the Sierra Nevada is seen terminating the view, and giving freshness to the scene in every season. Near the Carrera del Darro is an open square, on which is an *excellent theatre*, with an opera company now struggling

for existence, owing to the decline of interest in the drama over all Spain. There is also a spacious and good *fonda*, or inn, belonging to a company who employ a manager and divide the profits; a plan which I found not uncommon in Spain, and to which are owing many of the best of these establishments.

Parallel to the course of the Darro, is the Zacatin, a narrow street of shops, which only requires to be covered in to form a complete oriental Bazaar. The lower end commences from the Vivarrambla, the open square so celebrated in the history of the place. At the upper end is the Plaza Nueva, a square which contains the Chancery and residence of the Captain General. On the right of it is the Calle de los Gomeles, a narrow street, which is the main road to the Alhambra. On the left, a long and tolerable street leads to the Puerta de Elvira, which retains its name, but has been rebuilt. Outside is an open space, where is the Plaza de Toros, and from which some of the principal roads commence. In the two upper divisions, little alteration has been made, house succeeding house, the streets being as in the time of the Moslems. In the lower part, modern buildings and wide and regular streets are found, and the principal churches have been built.

The cathedral is a magnificent structure, founded on the side of the principal mosque, which it is to be regretted the zeal of the captors did not allow to remain. It contains many valuable specimens of the arts.* The principal works, in painting and sculpture, are by Cano, Spagnoletto, Juan de Sevilla, Risueño, Bocanegra, Siloe, Torrigiani, Cano in both branches, Vigarny, and Mena. All these works, which will be mentioned under the heads of their respective artists, were left by the French; a valuable picture of Moya

* See Schools of Sculpture and Painting of Granada, and Chapter of Marbles.

being the only one missing. The architecture of the cathedral will be particularly described under that head. A splendid chapel, dedicated to St. Miguel, contains the tomb of a late archbishop, executed at the end of the last century with equal taste and magnificence. The splendid convent of Geronymites, where Gonzalvo de Cordova is interred, a foundation of the same royal hands as the cathedral, is the most sumptuous of the various monastic establishments. The church contains celebrated sculpture of Navas and Becerra.* The others are of great extent, but have little to boast of architectural skill or beauty; that of St. Francisco was thrown down either by the French, or in the time of the constitution, but has, since the fall of the *sistema*, as it is termed, risen from its ruins as by enchantment; for these good fathers, who are mendicants by profession, and are forbidden by their founder to possess money or goods, have found the means of expending a sum I have heard estimated at a million of reals. One side of their edifice I paced was near 700 feet of solid masonry, and proportionably high. This huge barrack was quite full, but the church was still unfinished, their quarters being the first object of completion. I went to the Angel, a female convent once full of the finest paintings and statues. I found it in the act of being rebuilt; and addressing myself to an old man, in the hope that some fragments might yet remain, he said, "When you are at Paris, ask general Sebastiani, who can probably inform you where they are; there are none here."

The wall of the Alhambra, which is mentioned by Swinburne, and is traditionally said to be the work of the Phœnicians, is a long line on the left, soon after passing the entrance. Some improver has plastered it over with rough cast, and whitewashed it; a piece, however, is broken

* See the Notes on these articles.

off, and enables the work to be seen. It is certainly of great antiquity, and different from any work, either Moorish or Roman, I have ever seen. It is composed of long thin courses of the grey sandstone of the Vega, which the Moors never seem to have used, and the interstices are filled with fragments of ancient brick, probably introduced in repairs of more modern date. Some of the other parts of the fortress which came under my observation, differ from those which are known to be the work of the Moors. They are generally of solid and excellent brick, resembling the common Roman work, which they appear to have imitated.

The Palace of Charles the Fifth is still occupied as a powder magazine; it is without conductors, and a single flash of lightning would annihilate the remains of this interesting building, and probably the whole of the Alhambra.

The dreadful rents in the tower of Comares and other parts, were owing to an accident of this kind, early in the sixteenth century, and not to earthquakes, as generally supposed, although they may have widened the rents. The French occupancy was productive of serious injury to this place. The beautiful pavement of the outer court, which is of Macael marble, was broken to pieces, by its being made the receptacle for the firewood of the soldiers. They demolished the Silla del Moro, where Boabdil used to retire, on the height above, to construct a redoubt. They blew up the upper end of the fortress, with the tower by which the Rey Chico left the place; acts of useless destruction, as the whole of that end is commanded within pistol shot, and is quite untenable as a military position; and only proves, amongst thousands of other examples, that in those times the protection of arts and antiquities was quite a secondary object, and that nothing was in reality attended to but the military views of the chiefs, who were ready to

sacrifice any object to the contingent possibility of the defence of a post, however insignificant.

On the outskirts of Granada, both within and without the walls, are gardens and vast quantites of *cactus*, the fruit of which in summer affords salutary food to the poorer classes. Amongst their tangled foliage are numerous Troglodyte habitations, the residence of a dark and swarthy race, a mixture of gypsy and the poorer tribe of Moors. I had repeated dealings with these poor people, in ranging about; their appearance is not inviting, but I found them invariably obliging, and even polished in their manners. They form a considerable item in the population, although when housed they are nearly invisible.

This place, to us so replete with interest, is gradually decaying; its present support proceeds, in a great measure, from the chancery, or *audiencia*, a court of great power, the jurisdiction extending to Cuenca, and, I believe, meeting that of Valladolid. This is so great an evil, that it is thought of dividing it; in which case it will be a death-blow to Granada, the number of persons who are compelled to reside during their interminable lawsuits forming an article of the prosperity of the town.

It has also serious disadvantages in the want of communication, which are, however, now in the course of being remedied, as will be mentioned under the head of roads. There are some old and good families resident, and considerable industry in the town, in manufacture of leather and other articles.

I went to Malaga on horseback, by Alhama and Velez, which is the shortest line, and that frequented by the muleteers, who carry on an extensive traffic between these cities; the road for carriages being taken, for reasons I am ignorant of, through Colmenar far to the right. Nothing can be

more dreary than the country to Alhama. This town is at the edge of a deep ravine, and the situation is strong enough to account for its celebrity in ancient times, when it was considered the bulwark of Granada.*

Above Alhama I crossed the bare and bleak ridge of the western part of the Sierra de Tejeda, which abounds in game and in plants; and descending, the country improved and rapidly assumed another aspect. A brilliant sun succeeded the fogs and cold which prevailed in the upland region to the north of the Sierra Nevada, the vegetation changed, and patches of sugar cane were seen. The appearance of the people of the hamlets and villages is quite different from those of the uplands, and they are reputed to be a sanguinary race, prone to assassination on the least provocation. Notwithstanding the great traffic on this road, it is very bad, and parts of it nearly impassable. Velez Malaga is a well built, rich, and substantial place, in a fertile and beautiful territory; from hence to Malaga is a carriage road, which it is inconceivable should have terminated there, and not been carried on farther. It is the shortest line to Granada, with no natural impediment to prevent a carriage road being made. The soil on the coast to Malaga is excellent, and it might be expected to resemble the Riviere of Genoa; there is not a village, or a country house, or scarcely a hamlet, and only the most scanty cultivation. The cathedral of Malaga is a magnificent structure, and kept

* The name is derived, I believe, from the warm baths in the vicinity, and, like nearly all those of the places around, was conferred by the Moors. The pronunciation of many of these names is difficult. I inquired of an old man on the road the name of a distant town; he said, with a peculiar emphasis, İLLÖRÄ; the accent being delivered with an intonation so clear, that no other but the Arab race could have produced it. Alôra, they pronounce long. Alhendin has the accent on the last syllable. Cadiar, of which the a is sounded very full, and which appears an easy word, is very difficult to enounce properly.

in a style of neatness which cannot be excelled. It contains some admirable works of Mena, Michaeli, and of other artists: the architecture resembles that of Granada. The other churches contain little worthy notice; the streets are narrow, but the houses are clean and neat, abundant use being made of whitewash, as in most parts of the South. There is a beautiful Alameda, and the eastern beach serves for promenades of greater length. The heat in summer is excessive, but the climate is healthy, and many cases occur of extreme longevity. The complexions of the women are clear and brilliant, and for grace and beauty they have ever held the first rank in Andalusia. Both sexes are celebrated for what is termed *gracia*, or ready wit.

The Moorish forts of the Alcazaba and Gibralfaro are in ruins, and I could find little worth notice in examining them. There is a beautiful Moorish arch of marble remaining near the Alameda, in a part of the ancient *Atarrazanas*, or naval store-houses. The commerce of this place is decaying, the demand for the sweet wines, which were one of the principal articles of export, having almost ceased; it is now chiefly confined to the fruit trade. A few vessels arrive in the autumn, and carry off the produce of the crop, and during the remainder of the year trade is in a complete state of stagnation. The vessels which are sent from England are chiefly taken up at the out-ports, and the consular authority is constantly called on to repress the disorders and drunken quarrels of the masters and men, which are a national disgrace, being entirely confined to those of our own country.

Discussions were carrying on, which have been subsequently brought to a conclusion, respecting the right of sepulture to those who were not of the catholic communion; at length a grant of land has been made, and authority generally given in all places where the residences of British

merchants may make it advisable to apply for the establishment of regular cemeteries.

At a short distance from the city is one of the magnificent undertakings of Charles the Third, left unfinished, and recorded by the fortunes known to have been made by the individuals engaged in it. It is a bridge and aqueduct over the great river of Malaga, which flows at a league distant from the city; it is so far finished, that with timber it might be easily converted to use. The aqueduct, in making which a great expense was incurred, was rendered unavailing a few years afterwards by the public spirit of the bishop, who supplied the town, at his own expense, by a much shorter line. The only use of this enormous construction would be the communication of a few villages on the other side of the Vega; the road to Ronda and the interior making it unnecessary to pass the river in that part.

Malaga stands in a narrow nook at the foot of the mountains, which descend gradually to the sea. To the west is the Vega, which is watered by the great river of Malaga, as it is termed, which delivers a large body of water from the eastern end of the Serrania de Ronda. The soil is an excellent loam, quite different from the thirsty sand of the Vega of Granada; it lies under the level of the river, and of some minor streams, and might be easily converted to a garden; at present, it is exactly like the Campagna of Rome. It seems particularly suited to the growth of tobacco, and I am informed samples have been produced, equal to that of the Havannah.

In an angle beyond the river, backed by the chain which bounds the Vega to the west, is Churriana, a village resorted to in summer and autumn: a kind of Frascati to the Malagueñians. An individual has made a garden and grounds, of which the progress of a few years shows what might be effected with industry in this delicious climate.

I took horses to go to Ronda. After traversing the Vega, and crossing the river in a ferryboat, I ascended to Cartama, when I found that we were out of our road, owing to the ignorance of the guide, who was above asking questions to set himself right. The mistake, however, was of little consequence, for I saw the Roman remains at Cartama, and the beautiful country of Alhaurin, and Coin. These villages are on a rising ground above the river, and in beauty of situation and cultivation cannot be excelled. They afford a specimen of the whole country when possessed by the Moors, being surrounded by gardens with orange, lemon, and palm trees, and abounding in all the fine as well as the more common fruits. At Coin I visited a character of great intelligence and respectability, who had been during the time of the constitution "un homme à grands projets," his name figuring in various plans for the regeneration of his country. He was now dwindled to the superintendant of a nail manufactory, which a company were availing themselves of the abundant streams that water the place to establish; using the iron of Marbella, which is on the coast at a short distance.

From Coin I proceeded, after crossing the river, to a *puerto*, or pass, which closes in the Vega at the western end, and entering the Serrania de Ronda through a picturesque country, arrived at La Junquera. There was no *posada*, only a hovel without beds; but I obtained accommodation in the house of a respectable man who had been sergeant-major in the army of Romana and complained of the change of times. The population is composed wholly of *labradores*, or agricultural labourers, of all ranks. In the morning I descended to Borgo de Ronda, which stands in a deep vale, in a most picturesque situation, with a lofty mountain overhanging it to the north. From thence to Ronda the distance is about five leagues, by a dreadful road

through a wild district, without habitations or culture, until you approach the city, when you cross a plain covered with olives. Ronda is Tivoli on a grander scale; the temples are wanting, but there is a magnificent defile of 5 or 600 feet deep, and a splendid amphitheatre of mountains surrounds it on every side.

The new bridge, built in the end of the last century, over a chasm of 300 feet, would do honour to the Romans. Like so many other works in this country, it is wholly out of keeping, serving only for communication between the old and new town, which were already provided with one; whilst they have never thought of expending a real on the roads to the capital of the Serrania, which is almost inaccessible on every side. Below the bridge, the river forms cascades, and descends rapidly to the vale underneath, in which are the gardens and orchards that supply all the south part of the Peninsula with apples and pears, one of the staple branches of trade in the place.

The old town, or that of the Moors, occupies the left of the river, and is nearly surrounded by the ravine and precipices which encircle the other side. The Moorish citadel, crowned with battlements, which was blown up by the French without any necessity, for the place is quite indefensible, occupies a nook, forming the only convenient approach. It was so strong, that the Christians would never have taken it except by famine or stratagem. The garrison was drawn off by a feint on Malaga, managed with the consummate skill which marked the military operations of the generals of Ferdinand, and it was suddenly invested without a garrison, and obliged shortly to surrender.

The modern or new town is regularly laid out, and tolerably built, on the opposite side of the river. On this side is the *Paseo*, or public walk, on one side of which is a

mural precipice of several hundred feet, with beautiful views. The Plaza de Toros is near it, and the fights, which are considered there the best in Spain, are given during the great fair in May. There is a Maestranza, a corporation of nobility, it being one of the few places which have that privilege. This corporation was instituted for the absurd purpose of keeping the Castilian blood pure and uncontaminated from that of the Arabs. Many of the better families in these towns are descended from the officers and soldiers of Ferdinand, who, after the conquest, were settled there in order to secure the country against attempts of the Moors to reconquer it.

The district of which this city is the capital, and which bears the title of Serrania de Ronda, comprises thirty-five towns and villages, and is one of the most beautiful in Spain. The heats of this southern region, which lies in 36° and 37°, are tempered by the sea breezes and the cool air of the elevated ranges which form the greater part of its territory. The soil is good, the waters abundant, and the air pure and healthy. It has always produced excellent horses, and stock of all kinds. During the time of the Moors, the town was surrounded by noble forests, through which ranged numerous herds of animals; but in a century afterwards they were nearly destroyed, and arid and uncultivated wastes have replaced the sites of the greater part of them. The peasantry are beyond comparison the finest race in Spain, and the women, even in the larger towns of Andalusia, are celebrated for their beauty.

I was miserably lodged in the best *posada* of the place, and had to find my way to my room through a dungeon, filled with innumerable asses and mules, which arrived daily with cargoes of fruit, on their way to various points of Lower Andalusia.

The autumnal rains had fallen, and the clayey grounds, which occur in all parts of the south of Spain, were so saturated, that the *barro*, as it is termed, had assumed a tenacious consistency, exactly fitted to admit and to retain a horse's foot; practice alone, with the use of a peculiar step, enables these animals to travel through it in this state. As the route to Seville passes through a good deal of this sort of ground, and the streams were now swollen, it was an object to secure good horses for the journey. There was considerable difficulty in this, the distresses of the times having almost entirely put a stop to the breeding of good horses, which abounded before the war of independence. Only a few miserable animals, such as are employed in the suburbs in carrying about manure and garden produce, on *sayas*, or grass panniers, were to be found. At length I engaged with a man of the greatest respectability in his line, named Jose Zaffran, who had an excellent horse, and promised to accompany me himself. In the evening he requested I would defer my departure for a few hours, as the horse he was to ride himself had not arrived. The next evening I found he had altered the plan, and appointed his *mozo*, or servant, to accompany me. I reminded him of his promise, adding that having a respectable attendant, in a country at all times so insecure as the neighbourhood of Ronda, was one of my reasons for engaging with him. He instantly complied, confessing that his reluctance had only been caused by the non arrival of his own horse, and that he was ashamed to ride to Seville on the sorry animal he should be obliged to hire to fulfil his agreement with me.

After passing a beautiful defile, we came to the Cuesta de la Viña, a rapid and bad descent, made extremely difficult to the horses by the tenacity of the *barro*, from which they could scarcely extricate their feet. Below this, we overtook the *cosario*, or trading carrier, of Grazalema, who

was proceeding with a file of asses to Seville. My guide immediately pushed on to join them, and as I had ascertained by experience the utter inutility of contending with their social disposition, and their excessive fondness for travelling in company, I compromised the matter, and allowed him to fall in. After a short ride with them, he was satisfied, and came out, having made acquaintance with the whole party. Amongst them was a young lady, who was threading the wilds of this country in the middle of December, riding on an ass, gaily dressed in white muslin, with a straw hat and green veil. She was on the way to Seville, to be married to a man employed in some office there, which prevented his leaving the place.

The rapid mode in which these acquaintances are made, is one of the characteristic features of the manners of the country, but especially of the Moorish Spain. The process, which I have often watched, is this: the usual salutation of "Dios guarde a. v." is exchanged in a low voice. One or other of the parties immediately, without preface or question being asked, begins, "We are from such a place, and are going to such another," with any other details; he is repaid in kind, and in an instant they are as well acquainted as if they had been known to each other for years, relating every thing about their concerns with candour and openness. All this flows spontaneously; no impertinent questions or observations are ever thought of, or would be tolerated. The next time they meet on the footing of old friends. The only exception to the interrogatory etiquette to be made, is their habit of asking strangers from what town or place they are; a subject of intense curiosity with these people. It is certainly of Arab origin, and similar to the habit of the tribes meeting in the desert. Strangers to the customs of Spain should be on their guard when they are questioned. It is the reverse of Spanish manners, and

either proceeds from some bad motive, or from the underbreeding of the party. It is, however, of rare occurrence.

If the traveller has a *mozo* of any address, by sacrificing a little time, he may ascertain the history of every person he meets with on the road, and the characters who figure in the train of a *cosario* will often afford interest and amusement. Of course his own history is related in return, often with various amplifications. The extreme loquacity and communicativeness of these people, the timidity which is common to most of them, as well as the universal habit of never travelling alone, excepting from absolute necessity, are the causes of the pertinacity I found generally amongst them on this point.

This habit is extremely inconvenient, from the delay caused by it. In the evenings they frequently go through all the *posadas*, to ascertain who is travelling the same road, and make private arrangements unknown to their masters. When they are ignorant of your habits, they frequently come to boast of what they have done. My companion was so eager to join the new company, that he forgot our dinner, and on enquiring I found we had passed the village intended for our halt, which was off the road, and that we should not be able to stop for some time. We passed at the foot of Zahara, so celebrated in Moorish history, and a place of great strength on a height with the town grouped at the foot of a pyramidal rock on which are the ruins of the citadel. We coasted along the banks of the Guadalete, occasionally crossing it; a beautiful stream, now watering a desert; we saw some herds of bulls, which at a certain age are kept apart from the other descriptions of cattle, and passed nearer to one set than would have been safe in the spring; but at this season, which had succeeded the long drought termed by the Spaniards their Lent, during which their pastures are completely dried up, they are more quiet.

We dined at Puerto Serrano, a large village so termed from its situation at the first gorges of the Serrania. I had determined in sleeping at Coronil. My guide having arranged his plans to stop at Montellano, a league short of it, I suspected in consequence of a private agreement with the *cosario*, in order that we might travel together the next day, accordingly manœuvred to lose time, by loitering behind, and giving various reasons for preferring the place of his own selection. At last, when we were passing Montellano, as I took the road to go on, instead of following me, he made a bolt and rode straight into the *posada*; I paid no attention, but continued my route, and he was obliged to come out amidst a roar of laughter from various *majos* who were lounging about the place, and saw the transaction. This ridicule was a severe trial for an Andaluz; he rode up to me extremely disconcerted, but he said he had no objection to go on, if I wished it; only that if any thing occurred on the road, as it would be dark before our arrival, I must take the blame on myself. We arrived at Coronil after dark, and found another *cosario*, with whom my guide arranged we should go on together next morning.

In order to avoid discussion, I agreed that, as we were to start at an early hour, we should remain in company until daylight. When that arrived, he was unwilling to separate from his partner, and I was forced to ride on. When I reached Utrera, he was far behind; and on waiting for his arrival, I found him in a state of extreme agitation, between fear and vexation at being foiled in his scheme, and his pride hurt at his suggestion not being followed. He urged the insecurity of the road, and begged hard to be allowed to pass the *pinar*, or pine forest, through which the horse road passes, in company with the *cosario*; but we proceeded, and arrived without accident at Seville.

At the foot of the Serrania, is a train of low hills, covered

with arbutus, lentiscus, alaternus, and other evergreens. This is succeeded by open corn lands, which extend to Utrera. The territory about this town is productive, and the place is substantial and well built, and reputed to be wealthy. Below, towards the Delta of the Guadalquivir, are vast marshes, where numerous herds of cattle are bred, and some of the finest bulls are turned out. Between Utrera and Seville, the old road passes through forest and uncultivated grounds.

The villages in the low country are better built and neater than those in the hills; but the inhabitants have a sullen and distrustful manner, and unhealthy appearance, quite different from those of the Serrania.

CHAPTER II.

Madrid to Granada, by Murcia and Almeria, and the Alpujarras.

I left Madrid by the diligence of Valencia, intending to go by the coast through Murcia and the southern part of Andalusia and the Alpujarras to Granada. After crossing the dreary plains of La Mancha, I descended by the Puerto de Almanza to the Venta del Conde, a new and spacious *posada*, recently built, like many others, for the purpose of improving the accommodation on the great roads. I hired a mule, and proceeded by a lovely tract, cultivated like the Val d'Arno, to San Felipe or Xativa of the Moors.

The castle, which is one of the finest ruins in Spain, crowns the straggling summits of the last eminences of the great range, which suddenly breaks off to the west of the Xucar, and is succeeded by the beautiful *huerta*, or garden, of Valencia. The town is a miniature of the capital, with lofty and well built houses, many of them ornamented on the outside and having narrow streets. It contains no objects of art, but has the honour of being the birth-place of Ribera (Spagnoletto).

I took mules to Alicante, sleeping the first day at Alcoy, a town situated on a narrow ridge upon a slope, in the midst of a picturesque and beautiful country. The site is confined, and it presents the unusual appearance in Spain of a

place bursting its limits, being covered with building materials, with new edifices, and swarming with artificers of all kinds. This is caused by its being the seat of manufactures of paper and of woollens, both being now in a state of great and increasing activity. The situation for a place of trade is excellent; as it commands, by roads now making, an easy communication with the sea, with Madrid, Valencia, Alicante and Murcia; it is in fact a key to this part of the country, and possesses abundant water. The southern side of the valley is bounded by a lofty range, celebrated from early times for the variety and beauty of its plants, especially those used in medicine. Here the Moorish hakims resorted to recruit their simple stores, long after the conquest by the Christians, and a few came annually until late in the last century, when the last feeble bond which connected this beautiful region with Africa may be said to have been broken. The race in this part is entirely Moorish; the women are celebrated for their beauty, the climate being healthy, and the air and waters pure. The road to Madrid was at present suspended, for want of funds. The government, as I understood, had taken advantage of the necessity, to propose an unjust and most impolitic tax of entry on the wools used in the rising manufactures, which required fostering care instead of restrictions.

We started in the morning; my guide, who was a young man of twenty-two, apparently fit to go over the world, soon stopped and began to show signs of alarm; he pointed out some loungers, who were taking the morning sun upon a heap of timber, whom he declared he had seen the evening before at the other gate, and that he was satisfied they intended to waylay and rob us. I made some observations, and we proceeded. Soon afterwards, he descried a few men at a distance, travelling on foot by a parallel direction to that we were following, and scaling the rocks with great

agility; these he was convinced were the same, and no efforts could persuade him to the contrary. I saw the caps they wore were different, being the long red ones of the east of Valencia, instead of the small Moorish cap of this district. I tried reason, persuasion, and ridicule in vain. The only argument I found had any effect, was reminding him that he had engaged to accompany me to Alicante, and that he ought not to have done so, if he was unequal to it; this, however, had only a momentary effect, and he soon relapsed. At length his imagination fairly overpowered him, and he became the living image of fear. He was so unsophisticated, and so free from any attempt to conceal it, that he was only apprehensive I was incredulous; and coming over to me, begged I would put my hand on his heart, and I would be satisfied it had ceased to beat. His ideas were less wild and poetic than those of the Bohemian Claudio; he was afraid we should be skinned, always returning with "Pero si nos quitan el pellejo." At last he was unable to move above a few paces, when he halted and the same operation was to be gone over again. I was seriously considering what it was best to do, the district being extremely insecure, when a grim character, a perfect Bedouin, rode up, coming in the opposite direction; he was an elderly man, with a grisly beard and a keen eye, a very small hat, in form like a turban, and his *capa* (cloak) folded over his mouth. There were the unusual number of three muskets appended to his saddle, the muzzles projecting from beneath. As he must have crossed near the line of the supposed robbers, I desired the guide to consult him, and satisfy himself. As I conjectured, they had not escaped being scanned by his experienced eye; but pausing with the air of a professor, and determined not to give a hasty opinion, turning round and snuffing up in the direction they had gone, he said very deliberately, "A mi no me parecen ladrones, son de la huerta;" meaning

that they were of the neighbourhood of Valencia. The young man was then satisfied, and observing that I had more to lose than he had, for in fact he had only a shirt and trowsers, making a desperate effort, we proceeded—parting with the Arab, who I supposed, for I asked him no questions, either carried money or was afraid of assassination, which is too common in this part of the country. The villages on this road are generally bad and miserable, tenanted by smugglers and other characters of the same description. The people wear the most pure Moorish costume probably to be found in Spain.

We reached Alicante without accident, passing by the beautiful defile of Xixona, where is a fine Moorish castle, and gardens producing great quantities of fruit. I remained there to examine its geology, which is extremely interesting. This district is cursed with an aridity, which prevents its being one of the most productive spots in Europe. An establishment, to the east of the city, which I visited, and where an individual had introduced some of the Valencian modes of culture, irrigation and artificial grasses, exhibited lucerne, which yielded, they assured me, twelve cuttings in the year. This plant was certainly known, and most probably introduced, by the Moors.

The castle was commanded by a Spaniard of the ancient race, so jealous that it was understood he would not obey an order from Madrid to show it; the absurdity of this species of jealousy is evident enough, as there is no difficulty in seeing all the defences which interest those who might wish for information about attacking it, without having the trouble of procuring permission. In geologizing, I was close to the advanced sentry for a considerable time, without being seen, and could have sketched all the front with the greatest ease. The rock is extremely friable, and easy

for mining, as proved in the celebrated siege. A strong line of regular works was added, during the war of independence, which prevented it from being attacked; but before it was completed, a party of cavalry from Valencia summoned the castle in the bravado manner so well known in the French army, and was very near being successful.

I hired a *tartana*, or tilted cart, finding a difficulty in obtaining horses to go along the coast to Torre Vieja, the scene of the great earthquake of 1829, and thence to Murcia. The coast is flat and almost uncultivated, but the *salsolæ*, the plants which produce the barilla, and the liquorice plant give a botanical interest to it. Guarda de Mar is a miserable place, near the mouth of the Segura, and was nearly destroyed by the earthquake. The river, excepting in time of floods, discharges a scanty portion of water, most of it being consumed by the *acequias*, or canals of irrigation, of the vale of Murcia.

Torre Vieja stands, or rather stood, on a low table of rock, between the sea and an extensive salt lagune. It was now a heap of ruins, the only edifices remaining being the windmills outside the town, which their low and circular form enabled to resist the destructive shocks that destroyed every other edifice; rich and poor, great and small were involved in one common ruin. The streets, which were regular and wide, were with difficulty to be made out. The shock came on at *oracion*, just after dusk, without the slightest notice or atmospheric alteration, with an undulating motion from west to east, and in a few seconds the whole mischief was done; about thirty lives were lost, principally people passing through the streets, by the fall of the opposite houses. The *cura*,* his aged mother, and

* The *cura*, in Spain, is the rector or vicar, and head of the parish.

female servant were amongst the number, as they were endeavouring to escape from their house. The population was about 2,500, the place neat and well built; the inhabitants were now huddled around the outskirts, in temporary habitations. As the shocks still continued, it was thought unsafe to commence rebuilding. I was accosted by a respectable man, who offered to conduct me round the place, and pointed out the localities. Amongst the rest, he showed me the ruins of his own house, making no complaint or allusion to his misfortune; when he had finished, he conducted me to his habitation, which was a hut, chiefly composed of palm branches; it was so small, that entering it was out of the question, but he offered it to me, with brandy or any thing he possessed, with the noble, unaffected and inimitable ease quite peculiar to this people. The women of the better classes, some of whom were very good looking, were working indefatigably at the tambour, and other domestic works of Moorish Spain; moving their heads out of the low windows, till the retreat of the last rays of light compelled them to desist.

I slept in a cabin, in the place which represented the *posada*, with a clean bed spread on the floor; the slight rafters were lashed to the wall with rope, to prevent accidents, and the people, whose kindness and attention could not be exceeded, assured me I had nothing to apprehend, should a shock occur during the night. When I arose at the dawn of day, the women were performing with characteristic cheerfulness the offices servants would have done for them in better times, sweeping their humble *verandas*, and the fronts of their houses, in loose attire, as they had risen from their couches, their long hair (which, if it be the glory of women, is doubly that of the Spanish portion of them) streaming in the wind, and falling below their waists. The whole place was the picture of unaffected,

cheerful resignation. Not a beggar was to be seen, nor a complaint or murmur heard amongst them.*

The salt lake, to which *Torre Vieja* owes its support, is about three leagues, or thirteen miles, in circumference; it appears to be supplied by salt springs. The quantity they furnish varies; when there is not sufficient, they admit the sea water, by means of a sluice. During the dry season, evaporation takes place in proportion to the heat, and in the autumn a crust, of from three to eight inches, is formed over the vast surface; it is broken up, and carted away in the manner of ice, the labour being the whole expense. The profit to government, it being a royal monopoly, would be very great if the system were different; but the duties now amount to a prohibition for the internal consumption, and the foreign trade, which was formerly considerable, is diminished.

The road to Orihuela is uninteresting, but we passed the line of the earthquake, every building being levelled to the ground; a line of villages on the right, with Arab names, suffered most severely. Passing a picturesque and isolated mount, crowned by a Moorish fort, almost inaccessible, I arrived at Murcia. This vale is one of the finest monuments of the industry and skill of the Moors, whose descendants remain pure and unmixed. The irrigation, on which every thing depends, is conducted with consummate skill; the situation is one of the hottest in Spain, the *Huerta* being closed on every side, without sea or cool mountain breezes. In this vale the African character is not only preserved, but the blood is so pure, that the tribes the people descend from, in many instances, may

* I heard, about May, 1832, that the work of rebuilding had commenced; the shocks gradually diminished soon after the catastrophe, and when I was there, were no longer formidable; some nights, like that which I passed there, not exhibiting any.

be traced as at Algiers or Tunis. The cast of countenance is in general very different from that of the Andalusian Moors.

The city contains few objects of art; but the finest sculpture of Zarcillo, the last of the great Spanish school, is to be found there. The few painters who belong to it are ranged with the school of Valencia. The town is clean, and perfectly Moorish, with beautiful walks for summer and winter.

I examined the district, and then proceeded to Cartagena. This is one of the few places never attempted by the French in the war of independence, and I believe was never regularly taken in modern times. At the termination of the bay, which is formed by an opening between high ranges of limestone, stands the town on rising ground, flanked by lofty hills on each side, and having a low plain at the back; above this plain is a ridge of rocks, which constitutes the land barrier. It is so commanding that the engineers have thought it unnecessary to fortify much, and the land front is little more than a high curtain without outworks. The left or western flank covers the basin, and is protected by two very strong detached castles, built on pinnacles of the rock, and not commanded, which would be extremely difficult to get at. The masonry of the works of the town is indifferent, being of small blocks of brittle limestone, with very large joints. The right or eastern flank is covered by an advanced horn-work, which crowns a detached mass of rock and is probably the weak point. By destroying this work, and advancing batteries on the right, the whole land curtain would be seen, and the right front be quite open. The situation, the difficulty of the ground, which is mostly bare rock, the having the sea open, and being in constant communication with the English fleet, were sufficient reasons to prevent its being attacked; but besides these advantages, it was too far

from the base of operations and communications of any portion of the French armies capable of undertaking so extensive a siege in a country without resources for the purpose. The magnificent basin, capable of holding a fleet, with fifty feet water, now contained a corvette for sale, which no one would buy, and some convicts were heaving up the stern part of the *San Pablo*, about the last remnant of the navy of Spain. The splendid storehouses were empty, and the rope-walk unoccupied.

I sent to apprise the Consul of my arrival, intending to call afterwards; but received a message to say he was ill in bed; consequently, after examining the place I arranged to depart, and was retiring to the hotel, when an orderly came from the Governor to say, that if I did not wait on him, the gates would be closed on me in the morning; I accordingly repaired to his residence, and found him in state, ready to receive me. He commenced by saying, "I am surprised, Sir, that you, as a British officer, should not know better than to omit paying the respect due to me, by calling upon me." I attempted some defence, to which he paid little attention, but went on, "Sir, you did not even wait on your own Consul, but sent your card by a servant; these things are wrong; you ought to be aware that, as a stranger, I am your protector; and if you are in any scrape you will come to me to get you out of it;* how am I to do this if I am ignorant of your being in the place?" He delivered this with emphasis, and then paused. The place was full of aid-de-camps, secretaries and assistants, who had collected to see the scene. "Bien dicho," said the senior; which was repeated by all present, and I was condemned by acclamation. The good feeling was so manifest, that I felt little inclination to interrupt his triumph, and I was

* By the law of Spain, the captain general, or chief military authority, is the protector of strangers.

silent. He was satisfied, and said, very courteously, "You really, Sir, ought to have known better: you know if a Spanish officer travels in England he must wait on the Governor of every place he visits; why should you not do the same here?" I then took my leave. It was often remarked during the war that there was no land wind at Cartagena, and it was extremely difficult to get ships out; a rare occurrence in the Mediterranean, where it prevails almost universally. It was a serious disadvantage to a port of war before the invention of steam vessels. It may be owing to the gradual diffusion of temperature, in a region probably the most even in Europe as to climate, over the mountains, the plain at the back, and the adjoining sea, and the consequent want of the sudden refrigeration and transition, which are the cause of that phenomenon in other places. The district which includes the maritime parts of the kingdom of Murcia and the western portion of Valencia, with the eastern end of Andalusia beyond the influence of the Sierra Nevada, is the driest in Europe; it is sometimes nine or ten months without rain; the vapour is arrested far in the interior by the Sierra de Segura, which forms its barrier to the north.

It possesses unequalled advantages for agriculture, but there are no *pantanos*, or reservoirs, from the want of which nearly the whole country, excepting the vale of the Segura, is like an African desert. No place, excepting for the harbour, can be more unfit for a naval station. There is no resource whatever at hand, excepting the pine timber of the Sierra de Segura, which is only fit for inferior uses, and, like every thing in the navy of Spain, it resembled an exotic or forced plant, and has sunk as the enormous expenditure with which it was sustained has been withdrawn. The place is entirely decayed. I could not procure a horse, and was obliged to geologize on foot.

Being unable to hire animals to cross the mountains, I took a *tartana*, and proceeded by the carriage road to Almazarron, which is a large village in a valley, about a league from the sea, and enjoys a more temperate and healthy air than Cartagena. There was no *posada*, but I was hospitably lodged in the house of a young couple lately married, the husband being the son of the Director of the alum establishment. A hill at the back of the village, called St. Christobal, has for ages supplied the rock which furnishes the alum, and the *almagro*, or red earth, used in polishing mirrors and other uses. The rock, which is soft and easily broken, is toasted and then slaked; the alum is deposited in solution and evaporated, and the residue, after passing through water, is the *almagro*: it is, I believe, a silicate of iron. It is one of the great districts of *barilla*, and they were preparing to make carbonate of soda, of which they showed me excellent specimens. Fortunately there is little fuel wanted, the common shrubs sufficing for the kilns; otherwise they could not go on, as there is not a tree in the district, and a valuable iron mine is quite useless from that cause. The geology of this curious place will be mentioned under its head. I hired mules for Almeria, intending to proceed by Macael and Purchena. After crossing a wild and almost uncultivated tract, I arrived at the foot of the *lomo de vaca*, or cow's back, a curious ridge, the form of which has suggested its name, and which figures in the geological features of this part of Spain. Descending through an equally dreary tract, I reached Aguilas, a small town at the foot of a bold rock, on which is a castle; with a bay on each side, affording shelter as the east or west winds may prevail. The town was founded by Charles the Third, and is one of his many excellent plans. It communicates by a carriage road with Lorca, on the route from Granada to Murcia, and was intended as the seaport of the upper parts

of the kingdom of Murcia. It is regularly laid out, like his colonies, and well built with substantial edifices, but is now quite decayed. The next day I crossed the small plain of Aguilas, and came to a most dreary tract of slates, through which it was difficult to find the road; at last we came to a stand; a deep pool had been formed by a flood the preceding day between two rocks, and the guide being afraid to swim the mules, we had to clamber up, and with great difficulty turned it. After passing these defiles, we entered the great *delta* of the Almanzora, and crossing its wide bed reached Vera. In this day's route, or the preceding, there was not a *venta* and scarcely a house. I had been assured that Vera was a city, and that every thing was to be had there; I found it a straggling, poor, inhospitable place, with a wretched and dear *posada*, belonging to the Ayuntamiento, which is known all over the country for its miserable accommodation. The water is bad, being impregnated with nitre, and the country around dreary and unproductive. The next day I proceeded up the Almanzora, by a sandy country quite denuded of trees, save a narrow stripe along the river, by which the whole country might be turned into a garden. We passed some miserable villages in the most lovely situations. The road was chiefly by the wide and gravelly bed of the river. In the afternoon I came to Almanzora, the site of a favourite palace of the kings of Granada. It stood on a small eminence or knoll, the river washing the foot of it. A spacious *cortijo*, or country house with farm offices, built in the last century, now occupies the site, and not a Moorish fragment is left. Every tree has been carefully removed, and it is now in the midst of an open desert. The villages higher up are better built, but I could procure no wine, although the country is celebrated for it. We overtook a drove of asses, and ascertaining from the leader they belonged to Macael, as my

guide was ignorant of the road, I joined company with them; we crossed the river above Cantoria, about a league below Purchena, and ascending a mountain tract arrived at Macael, a village celebrated from the time of the Moors for its quarries of statuary marble. I sent for the *maestre de canteras*, or quarry master, and ascertaining I had not time to see the quarries that evening, I determined to sleep at Purchena and return in the morning. Nothing could exceed the kindness of these people, who are extremely poor, with a mine capable of enriching the whole district, which is now perfectly useless and unprofitable. They pressed me so much to stay with them, that I had great difficulty to get away. There was no *posada*, but they said neither men nor mules should want for anything. Their difficulties were increased by a new and arbitrary tax lately laid on by the *Corregidor* of Baza, under whose jurisdiction they are, of a dollar *per fanega* on all seed corn sown, and levied in the mode usual in Spain previously to its being put into the ground; a dreadful and ruinous tax, especially in a part of the country where the crops of corn give a very uncertain return, in addition to the other heavy charges; but they had no remedy and were obliged to submit. The village is in a *barranco*, or ravine, with a beautiful stream of water, of which no use was made, and they had not the slightest idea of saw or polishing mills for the marble. I fixed with the *maestre* to meet him in the morning, and went to Purchena, which I was anxious to see. It is about a league distant. On entering the town I inquired of an old woman if there was a *posada*? "Si señor, hay una, nueva, hermosa." It had a most inviting appearance, but the interior turned out to be a mere shell, all the back part being unfinished, and the only habitable room was occupied by a commercial traveller. I arranged to sleep in the open space at the entrance, and inquired what was to be had for supper;

was there mutton? "Hush! habra." "Wine?" which is celebrated. "Tambien habra, pero no diga v. nada." The meaning of this was, that there was a monopoly of these articles in the place, most probably by the Ayuntamiento, and that the articles sold publicly were dear and bad, and must be procured in other quarters. As I was retiring to rest, an *alguazil* came to say the *Alcalde* wished to see me. He was a gentleman, the place being of some consequence. He asked me a few questions very politely, which he was quite justified in doing, as the times were very critical, and I was out of the direct route, and in a place very seldom visited. I explained my object, and he said "Pero que necessita v. en la Peninsula?" but what brings you to the Peninsula? I answered that I had permission from my own government and from that of Spain to travel, which I supposed sufficient. He instantly gave me the passport, which was already signed; saying "vaya v. con Dios." Purchena, which possesses great historical interest, from its being the residence of the *Re Chico* after the surrender of Granada, is situated at the foot of the Sierra de Filabres, the eastern shoulder of the Sierra Nevada. The ruined castle occupies a lofty cliff at the back, and below it is the junction of two branches of the Almanzora. The country is beautiful, but is now almost entirely divested of trees. The town, which contained seven thousand houses in the time of the Moors, has now barely four hundred. The situation is of great importance, as it commands the whole vale of the Almanzora and the sea at the south, an easy communication with Baza and with Lorca by Cuevas, as well as two lines of road to Almeria and the mines of the Sierra de Filabres. In the course of the evening, a variety of characters assembled from the village. I endeavoured to get information about the route for the next day, intending to cross direct from

the quarries of Macael to Almeria. The maps were of no use. No two accounts agreed. No one knew more than the road they always frequented, which was a line higher up the Sierra ; and represented the other as impracticable, or full of robbers : they could not agree in the distance within several leagues, and I had to follow my own plan and trust to the chance of finding a line in the direction I had planned. In the morning I returned to Macael, taking Antonio Vicarro, the *maestre de Canteras*, and a guide to put me in the route to Almeria. The quarries are a league above the village, and there is a scrap of pine forest which afforded a most agreeable contrast to the arid regions I had traversed for several days. The principal bed of marble is near the summit of the forest, and is entirely disengaged. There were seven beautiful blocks, apparently intended for bas reliefs, about seven feet in length, ready to be sent to London ; the first foreign order, I believe, they had ever received. Another immense block was quite ready to be detached, but the only other order they had, was for a blue and white pavement in small squares, for a convent of nuns at Murcia. I inquired why they did not make a mill to assist in the working ? “ no hay genio,” there is no will. The chief defect is the want of a road. They transport the blocks with vast labour to the bed of the Almanzora, and then to a place on the beach near Vera, where they are embarked. The easiest and best direction is by Atal and Tabernas to Almeria. The whole line is an inclined plane, and the *maestre* assured me, he could make it fit for transport for eighty thousand *reals*, about eight hundred pounds. The block alluded to is the fellow to one moved at the end of the last century, before the troubles of Spain commenced, which forms the magnificent tomb or monument of the archbishop in the chapel of St. Miguel, in the cathedral of

Granada. It is about twelve feet high, in one solid block, apparently without a flaw. It was moved at an enormous expense, the journey to the river, which is only two leagues, occupying three weeks, and that to Baza as much. The father of the *maestre* had assisted in the operation, which is handed carefully down in the history of the place. A great quantity of marble of inferior quality has been at various times taken from these quarries up to the period in question. The magnificent blocks, that give the name to the hall of the two sisters at the Alhambra, which are twelve or thirteen feet in length, and all the white marble in it, was brought from hence. The views from the upper part of this forest are very fine. The vast *delta* of the Almanzora resembles a Libyan desert, the course of the river being marked by a narrow strip of dark green. The country between the river and the mountains east of it, is worn by the torrents into innumerable hillocks, and gives that appearance which caused Bowles, who first visited this region, to compare it to the agitated waves of a stormy sea. This mountain belongs to the commune, who have the exclusive right of working it, but they have no capital, nor means of extending their operations. After leaving the forest, I descended by an open country to Atal, so pronounced by the people, but written in the maps Tahal. It is a stout, well-built village, with a small Moorish keep or feudal castle at the upper end, which is surrounded by a low turretted basement, and a ditch. The name is probably from the watch or look-out, and it may have been the possession of a chief who figured by that name in the insurrection of the *Moriscos*. At some distance below is a small plain, at the extremity of which stands Tabernas, a decayed place of great consequence in the wars of the Moors. It has a ruined castle of considerable size and strength, upon an eminence, and completely commanding a defile

leading to the great river of Almeria. The next day I descended by a deep gravelly bed or water way, with lofty walls on each side, and with scarcely any cultivation, until we joined the main trunk or river of Almeria. The scene then changed, and a completely African country succeeded. Palms, orange and lemon trees, flat roofs to the small houses, and a physiognomy as completely Moorish as the opposite coast could exhibit, mark this part of the *Tierra caliente*.^{*} After following the wide bed of the river for some distance, I crossed a small range of hills and arrived at Almeria. Soon after my arrival, the people of the *fonda*, who were of great respectability, told me that a well known character, a police spy, had been prowling about and making inquiries and observations about my passport, no doubt with a view to extort money. I paid no attention to this, but went to call on the Governor, who was ill and living out of town, and on the Vice Consul, who was absent. I was drawing on the rocks at the back of the town, when a soldier came and begged I would accompany him to the guard-house. The officer, who could not comprehend the difference between military drawing and sketching a landscape, referred me to the Colonel, who was with many other officers; he instantly dismissed the complaint. I rode out to Cape de Gatt, to look at the geology, when a soldier requested I would go to a post on the beach. The sergeant commanding examined my passport, and did not detain me an instant, but privately sent off an express to the town to mention the circumstance. In the evening the Vice Consul, who had arrived, called on me, and said he had received notice from the authorities that I might expect a visit from them. Accordingly, the aid-de-camp of the Governor and the police spy came, with the

^{*} For the explanation of this term, see Introduction to the Natural History.

Vice Consul, and in due form requested to see my papers. They took my portfolio and note-book, and we went to the Governor, who was living in a country-house outside : when we came to the door, the spy gave a private signal, and it was immediately opened. He received me with the greatest civility ; he took my pocket book, and saying he presumed it contained my notes, gave it to me unopened ; the sketches he examined with the interest of an amateur, and then returned them, saying " this complaint was made to me, and I was obliged to notice it, but I am extremely sorry it has happened ; it is my desire to give every assistance and show every attention to officers of any country allied with the king of Spain, who may visit this place. Had I known of your being here, I would have sent an aid-de-camp to show you every thing in the place." The miserable animal to whom I owed this adventure, whose appearance was as filthy and disgusting as his occupation, was present, but it was his last performance, and he was driven out of the place, of which he had long been the pest and destestation, a few days afterwards. The reason of the severity of the military duty was, that Torrijos had arrived at Gibraltar, and was daily expected to make a descent on the place. The town is a mere shadow of its ancient state in the time of the Arabs. The houses are small and low, but neat and clean. The Moorish walls are almost entire. The Alcazaba, or citadel, was of great size and strength, having three interior lines. The upper part is of the time of Charles the Fifth ; having been built subsequently to the capture. The character of the lower class of inhabitants is completely Moorish : some of their houses, which have flat roofs and only one story, have two or three rooms without windows, opening into each other and merely separated by curtains, the inside, or sleeping apartments, looking

into a small inclosed yard, where are the cooking utensils and stoves, as in Barbary. The women may be seen, in some of the smaller houses, in loose robes covering them entirely from head to foot ; and a light tinge of yellow completes this Moorish character. In the cottages, where I frequently accosted them, making different excuses for doing so, I found them invariably civil, but shy and retiring. Some of their voices are the sweetest in the world. The Moorish character, which this part of the country preserves with perhaps as great purity as any other part of Andalusia, is owing, in all probability, as well to the climate, which has permitted the African usages to be retained, as to the little violence which accompanied the capture of this important place. It surrendered without resistance, and escaped the horrors which awaited the inhabitants of those who defended their altars. In other respects, the same consequences have resulted, the ruin of commerce and of agriculture, and the reduction of the population to a fraction of what it formerly was. Some of the better families are of pure Moorish descent. Almeria is, to use the expression, a polished place, like all the cities of the south, where the elements have not been disturbed by some local cause, and the “trato” is very agreeable. * It is a kind of secondary capital, and, if it were not for the utter decay of the whole country, would be of great consequence. The plain to the East, which is terminated by the Cape de Gatt, and is now little more than a desert, might be cultivated. The bay commands the coast communication both ways : a carriage road leads to Granada by Guadix, and communicates with

* The word *trato* is in common use, in this sense, and is too comprehensive to admit of translation. It means the manners and deportment of either individuals, or of cities, or even countries. The verb is also used, and “no le he tratado” is constantly said, meaning, I have not had dealings with him personally.

the whole of the mountain passes of the eastern end of the Sierra Nevada, comprising many mining districts.

I hired mules, and set out for Adra. When we had proceeded some distance, I suspected we were following a line too far from the coast, and on inquiring of a peasant, found it to be so : my guide was ignorant of the road, and was too idle and conceited to inquire. The informant put us on a road which conducted, by some smelting mills, through a defile, into the Campo de Dalias, an elevated flat near the seashore, quite uncultivated, with only a few small lead mills scattered over it. Some *algibes*, or cisterns, of the Moors are yet remaining; but with *pantanos*, or tanks, it might be made a garden. At the western end the hills close on the coast, leaving a small marshy district, at the termination of which, on a sandy strip, in a truly African climate, stands Adra. A stream flows near it, the delta of which forms sugar grounds. The place has assumed some consequence of late, from its being the port and chief smelting place for the lead of the Sierra de Gador. There is an extensive establishment intended to embrace the whole lead business, of pipes, sheets, &c., the use of which is as yet unknown in Spain. I went to Berja, by the course of the stream, ascending through narrow gorges. The dreadful destruction of the floods, of which mention will be made hereafter, extended to this part. A most industrious and respectable Frenchman had established a water-mill, where he gained a subsistence by smelting the refuse ores and scoriæ of the richer establishments : his whole savings were vested in charcoal, the entire mass of which was swept away, and the mill narrowly escaped. Berja is a beautiful place, in a *hoya*, or small basin, surrounded by lofty mountains, and being well watered, and at a moderate elevation, is a healthy and thriving place. It is the intermediary station of the innumerable mules and asses

employed in transporting provisions and supplies to the Sierra and carrying the ore to Adra. In the morning I ascended the Sierra de Gador, which resembles a new colony. It is a high and perfectly bare limestone ridge, on which were huddled, in the rudest manner, eight thousand men. The habitations are of stone, with the least possible quantity of wood; and the roofs covered with a sort of cement. The proprietors and managers were lodged scarcely any better than the men; their stores and provisions being annexed. Not a woman or an animal of the canine species is permitted to reside on the mountain, doubtless from motives of economy, as the provisions are furnished to the men at discretion: and they informed me the consumption, especially of the new comers, was enormous. Their diet is at present confined to bread and potatoes, not even salt fish being supplied, owing to the exorbitant duty upon it; a practical specimen of the commercial system of Spain. These mines are so dry, that water to drink is wanting, and, being brought from a great distance, is a very expensive article. After the shafts are sunk and the mine discovered, the labour is merely mechanical, ropes and baskets of spart, and rude wooden winches being the sole apparatus. As the deposit is very large, it is hopeless to contend against them as to prices. The road is so bad, that only mules could ascend or descend it, although the most trifling expense would make it excellent. In addition to their provisions, the men are paid from five reals, about a shilling a day, to two, in proportion to their classes. There is a police establishment on the mountain. The managers and proprietors, both here and at Adra, treated me with the frank kindness and unreserved freedom of communication universal in Spain.* I returned to Adra,

* See the Chapter on Mines.

and took mules to proceed to Granada, by the route of Cadiar and Lanjaron. We passed the Hoya of Berja, and crossing a ridge, descended into a deep and picturesque valley, the rocks of which were of the richest and most varied hues. At the upper end, in a very narrow defile, a monk presented himself, of most unusual appearance. He was a man of forty, short and very stout; he wore the habit of the Capuchin order, excepting that the cloth was of superior fineness. Long gaiters covered his brawny legs to the knees, of the same material. His beard, and what was visible of his skin, were of a cleanness and neatness quite extraordinary, and his whole appearance corresponded; he was riding a superb mule, richly caparisoned, with an attendant on foot: a turn-out fit for a grandee of Spain. I saluted him, and passing on, was casting my eye back to examine such an unexpected apparition, when I heard behind me a long and most emphatic "car-ra-jo!" "There is no one so fat and sleek as these monks!" This most useful expletive, to which no one but a native can give the real effect, and amongst them, no one like a southern, came from the Alpujarreñian throat of a young man who had followed us from a village, and, having spoken with the guide, was pressing forward to join company. The monk was just such a specimen as Rabelais would have delighted in, or might have figured in the Canterbury pilgrimage, a fit mate for the "rump fed ronion," who must have "muncht and muncht and muncht" before he got into his present keeping. Who he was, my companion was ignorant, and I never ascertained, but he might be heard of between Cadiar and Berja. In the evening I arrived at Cadiar, which I was desirous of seeing, as it may be considered the capital of the Alpujarras, and was the scene of the last attempt of the Moors to recover their independence. It is beautifully situated in a romantic valley, but is a dirty

and ill-built place. The *posada* was wretched, and a roaring noise, kept all night outside by a party who were keeping watch for fires, prevented my getting any rest. In the morning I proceeded towards Lanjaron, descending by the bed of a torrent, which in all this district forms the road. The effects of the dreadful inundation which had taken place a few weeks before, were too visible in the route of the previous evening and of the morning. In September, the autumnal rains were of unusual force, and after continuing unintermittingly for several hours, produced a flood, which swept these vallies with resistless violence. Every thing exposed to its ravages was carried away. The mills were destroyed, the *acequias*, or channels of irrigation, which had existed since the time of the Moors, were injured or rendered unserviceable. The soil is so scanty, that the corn patches and gardens are chiefly the reclaimed beds of the torrents, which were confined to the middle by heaps of stones and rows of poplars and other trees. These trees were cut and jagged off for miles in length, and levelled as if cut by a scythe, the larger stones frequently remaining on the spot, after effecting the mischief. Had it been repeated or continued, as vast masses of sand and gravel accompanied it, the formation of *lignite* might have been exhibited in these fallen and prostrate trees. The quantity of transported materials was quite extraordinary. The whole upper part of the valley seemed to have been in motion. It was a deluge, or debacle in miniature. It must be observed, however, that the inclination of the upper vallies is very great. Lower down, the fragments became smaller, and it gradually ceased as we approached the sea and the angle of the descent was diminished, and the beds of the river became more extended. This phenomenon, of which the effects are to be traced upwards, as the inclination of the vallies increases, may be caused by the force

of the water moving the smaller particles of sand and other materials, whose weight is added to the projecting force of the element in its descent, until they move larger fragments, and so on progressively. These vallies are yet in their ruined state, a proof of the industry of their former inhabitants. The vines are planted amongst the crumbling schist, and afford an excellent wine, where it seems impossible anything should grow. Mulberries, olive, orange, and lemon trees, with patches of corn, are grown wherever they can be watered, and not the smallest portion of ground is lost. I was warned that the disastrous state of the country, owing to the inundation, and the discharge about to take place of many miners from the Sierra de Gador, would render the roads insecure. We had, however, no *novedad*, to use the Spanish expression, but several groupes, who were not ready for a coup de main, cast a wistful eye at the baggage. A few days after, a gentleman I was acquainted with, lost a large sum of money and his horses and baggage on a part of this very road, near the Venta de Torbiscon, having met a party of no less than seventeen as he was proceeding to Adra. We crossed a high puerto, or pass, which is on a peninsula or isthmus of the great river of Orgiva. On the summit was a character in a hut of palm branches, meant to shelter him from the sun. He was a *Realista* of most ill-favoured appearance, and stationed there to look out for robbers. Laying down his musket, he came to the road, and asked not for *Aguardiente*, but *Limosna para el Guarda*. With the exception of leaving his musket, he was exactly the robber of Gil Blas. From this *puerto* I descended to the great river, and paying a toll for a bridge not yet made or thought of, ascended to the Campo de Orgiva, one of the loveliest tracts in these mountains. It is a slope of great beauty, terminating at the river which washes the foot, and

is surrounded by lofty ranges on all sides. The olive trees are of immense size, and as celebrated amongst this Moorish race, as were those of Athens among the Greeks. The village, or town, is a rich and substantial place, well built, with beautiful grounds and gardens. From this, a league of ascent conducted me to a summit, from which opens the first view of Lanjaron. It is a long straggling village, on a slope which runs rapidly up to the Sierra Nevada, the eternal snow of which is seen through openings in the distance. The base on which the village stands is covered with the richest vegetation, and it is embosomed amid the mulberry, chestnut, ilex and the olive, with the lemon, orange and palm. The vines are trained on trees, as in Italy. The slope terminates abruptly below in a deep *barranco*, or ravine, of which the opposite side rises like a colossal wall: a detached peak is crowned by a ruined castle. In the valley below are mills like those of Italy. Far to the south, over a ridge, called "par excellence" the Sierra de los Moros, is seen the Mediterranean. To the West are open lofty ranges, forming landscapes of the most classic form. Such is the situation of this beautiful place, which is the glory of the Sierra de Nevada, and may vie for picturesque beauty with any in Europe. It is much resorted to in summer on account of the mineral springs, one of which is a very strong saline aperient, and of great reputed efficacy for debility and indigestion. The climate is so mild, notwithstanding its elevation, owing to the protection of the mountain at the back, that the trees escaped uninjured in the dreadful winter of 1829—30, which was so fatal throughout the South of Spain.* The next day I started for Granada, and crossing a ridge, entered the open defile which separates the mass of the Sierra Nevada from

* For the marble of this place, see the Chapter on that head.

the lofty lands of Alhama and the Sierra de Tejeda, and forms the communication of the Moorish capital with the coast. In loveliness it cannot be excelled. It is a grove of olives, with palm, orange and lemon trees, fruit gardens and buildings like those of the Poussins. The open space amidst this charming scenery affords magnificent back grounds of the opposite mountains, and are in the truest style of the grand landscape. Durcal, called by these semi-Arabs Urcal, as they never pronounce the D, has abundant sources of the finest water bursting from the rocks. There are deep *barrancos*, or ravines, to vary these interesting views. At Padul, which was a marshy plain, but has been drained, this scenery terminates. Above it, commences the bleak and dreary waste which bounds the Vega, from the highest summit of which Boabdil heaved his last sigh to the white and glittering walls of Granada.

CHAPTER III.

Sierra de Segura.

Having ascertained that the Sierra de Segura, a lofty and wild range of mountains, in which the Guadiana, the Segura, and the Guadalquivir take their rise, and flow to fertilize the various regions of la Mancha, Murcia, and Andalusia, contained the principal forests in the south of Spain, I left Granada for the purpose of visiting it, with two horses and an armed guide, who was strongly recommended to me, being in the habit of carrying money to the mines, and similar commissions. I obtained some letters of recommendation, but the information I could procure respecting the district was very scanty, the only sources being the timber merchants who occasionally visit it to purchase the building materials of Granada, which are chiefly supplied from thence.* I slept the first day at Guadix. After ascending by a long range of continued rise for more than a league, and crossing a defile, the road winds along under the shoulder of the Sierra Nevada, where are the remains of a noble forest of oak; not a tree is now standing. We dined at a venta in a beautiful vale, and after traversing an uninteresting tract, the latter part of which shoots out like a promontory, entered the curious defiles which lead to Guadix, of which information will be given in the geological

* For some information on the subject of these forests, by which my attention was called to them, I was indebted to the Padre Muñoz of St. Augustino, at Cordova, Regius Professor of Botany there.

abstract. The sandy rock is hollowed into various Troglydyte habitations, but the district is almost uncultivated.

At a short distance from Guadix we again entered a country similar to that of the preceding day, having the bold and striking range of the Sierra de Baza, a detached portion of the Sierra de Segura, on the right. After passing an upland table with wild and bleak views, we descended to Baza. It was late in the autumn, and a caravan which travels from Valencia to Granada was on its way. It sets out immediately after the gathering of the rice, which is exchanged for leather, trapping for mules, hemp, images of clay, and a variety of small articles of domestic manufacture. The journey and other operations occupy about six weeks. The road was covered with lines of the fine white asses of Valencia, carrying sacks of rice, and many passengers who availed themselves of the opportunity to travel. These animals were all males, as they are considered of superior strength and vigour to the females, which remain at home for domestic work. They travel at a good pace, with a light and cheerful step, occasionally tumbling over the rocks, and recovering their feet with great coolness and agility. At Baza I lodged in a spacious new *posada*; there were successive arrivals to the number of two hundred animals, which were all lodged under the same roof, and the host informed me he could accommodate a still greater number. The entrance, which comprises the kitchen, and the place of loading, unloading, and the sleeping benches, of the *arrieros*, and others of the same rank, is proportionably large. As the asses successively arrived, they were quickly discharged and passed to the stables, which are in the rear, communicating by doors, and the packs arranged symmetrically in rows, ready to load in the morning; each *mayoral*, or leader, looking carefully to his own charge; the *mozos*, of which there was one to every four or five animals, attending them.

The whole party slept either on stone benches, or on the ground, spreading their *mantas*.^{*} Above this vestibule are the rooms appropriated to passengers: I was shown into a spacious one, without an atom of furniture, or any thing but the walls. A clean and excellent bed on trestles, however, soon made its appearance, with the necessary furniture, and a good supper was produced, after I had sent to the *Plaza* and purchased every article for it. When the asses were arranged and fed, and their leaders had made their frugal meal of salt fish and oil, guitars and castanets came forth, and they kept it up until a late hour, regardless of the day's fatigue, or of that which was to follow. Every thing passed off quietly, but I observed the host, who was a grave and sedate personage, paced constantly back and forwards amongst them, taking no part in the enjoyment, being evidently ready to interfere; as amongst the Valencians, who are armed, and beyond all the Spaniards "jealous and quick in quarrel," deadly frays sometimes break out in an instant. Baza, which figured so much in the time of the Moors, is now a miserable place, the inhabitants subsisting by the traffic of the road which passes through it, and on the produce of its vineyards and olive grounds. Like so many other places, it would appear incredible what a change has taken place since the conquest; scarcely a trace of its description at that time being discernible. I waited on the corregidor, to whom I had a letter, and who is a personage of great consequence in this district. I found his daughters in this remote place playing Rossini, with whose works they were quite conversant. I should have very much preferred hearing some air of Moorish origin. He informed me, that as far as his jurisdiction extended, the country was safe, but that beyond,

^{*} A kind of coarse saddle-cloth.

there were *rateros*.^{*} However, as both myself and guide were armed, I was under no apprehension of an attack from that description of robbers. I turned to the north, and crossing a dreary tract of African aspect, passed the Guadiana, as called by the people ; a beautiful stream which collects the waters of the eastern part of the Sierra de Segura. When the country is surveyed, it will probably be found to be the true source of the Guadalquivir. Another branch is at present considered to be so, which rises to the west in the Sierra de Cazorla. Above this river we ascended a high *plateau*, at the extremity of which is Pozo de Alcon, where I slept. On the way we met two men with a small ass laden with corn, which they were carrying to Baza, from a place nearly sixty miles distant. On the scanty profits of this small cargo, with a return probably of wine, they had to maintain themselves and the animal during this long journey. These wandering habits are the delight of the semi-Arab population of the south. After making the necessary arrangements for the night, I strolled out to an eminence above the village, to enjoy a view, of which there are few parallels. I stood on an upland terrace, backed by the Sierra de Segura. On the right, the eye descended through *barrancos*, or ravines, and was lost amidst the summits of the secondary range, which is the prolongation of that Sierra to Jaen, and extends, by Loxa Antequera, Ronda and Gibraltar, into Africa. To the south is a vast horizon formed of the low Hoya of Baza, which a small angle prevents the eye from topping and descrying the distant Mediterranean. The Sierra de Baza and various isolated masses of mountain are seen protruding through the wide and Libyan waste which extends to the Sierra de Filabres. To the west, in majestic

^{*} See the Chapter on Robbers.

grandeur, the Sierra Nevada terminates the view, rising above the great plain of Guadix. Although the base is two thousand feet above the level of the sea, the splendid mass towers above all the subordinate objects in regal majesty, like "the monarch of mountains." The sun was setting "in glory," his rays tinging the eternal snow, and resting on a deep mass of blue, completing the effect of a landscape, which to the geographer, the geologist, the painter, or admirer of nature, could not be excelled. I slept at the house of a worthy man, to whom I had a letter of recommendation, who would not permit me to remain at the *posada*, and undertook to procure me a guide to the Sierra. Although we were at the foot of it, it was impossible to obtain any accurate information. No one in the village knew more than the immediate district. They could not agree within some leagues as to the distance of Orcera, which was the point I meant to reach, and I could not come to any decision, from their accounts, whether I should be able to reach a place of shelter for the night, or have to pass it in the forest. My host was as ignorant as the rest, although he knew perfectly well, in this secluded corner, what was going on in every part of Europe. The man he intended to accompany me, was unfortunately absent, and a substitute was found in a gaunt Lismahago figure, an old soldier, who, as it turned out, had no earthly qualification for the office of guide, but honesty and the most imperturbable good humour, with a power of going equal to a horse. At dawn of day we set out, and soon entered the forest, skirting and repeatedly crossing a clear and lovely stream, which, with the deep shade of the pines, gave a sylvan beauty to the scene, contrasting with the African aridity of the country from Granada. The mountains are about the scale of the smaller Appenines, with great beauty of form, and are clothed with pine to the summit. The

lower part of the valley is partially cultivated. About the middle of the day I arrived at a district of *cortijos*, or farming establishments, with grounds broken and varied with evergreen and deciduous oaks and other trees and shrubs. The road now divided, and I had the option of turning to the left, and descending on Cazorla, a village at the foot of the Sierra, and by which name this part of it is known, or of pushing on for Orcera, with the doubtful prospect of reaching the Casas de Carrascas, the only chance of shelter for the night. I had obtained the great object of my visit, which was to see what the upper zone of these forests was composed of; but as the weather was fine, I determined to proceed, and examine the higher parts of the Sierra. After passing a beautiful defile, the stream diminished; the country rose; the trees decreased in size; and we gradually obtained a higher elevation. The weather now exhibited symptoms of change, a strong south wind arose, and the clouds began to drive; giving unequivocal signs of alteration. At the summit of the pass we met a shepherd, to whom the guide spoke aside, never acquainting me that his knowledge of the country was quite at an end. We passed a ridge and began to descend. A thick fog formed, and the night began to close. We still followed the track, until I saw too clearly we were wrong. However, the man with a dogged obstinacy persisted he was right, until at nightfall we came to an *aguadero*, or watering place for cattle, when the road terminated. He still insisted it was the right direction, and in the hopes of hitting the road, I followed his suggestion. We were soon irretrievably entangled amongst rocks and precipices, and the fog and drizzle increasing, there was no alternative but to stop. We were unfortunately on the weather side of the Sierra, which was nearly bare in that part.

However, I selected the best tree, and we prepared to

bivouac, making a fire with the decayed branches. As soon as the fire was lighted, the guide, whose ignorance and obstinacy was the cause of our being in this situation, extended himself, and was in a minute fast asleep, merely remarking to the other, that he was sorry on account of the cavallero. To themselves it appeared a matter of perfect indifference. They consoled themselves with the observation that on such a night it would be impossible to see the road on the king's highway. We picketted the horses near the fire, and kept the arms in readiness, as I was not without apprehension of the wolves, which abound here and might be induced to attack them. We had abundance of provisions, but my guide had neglected to fill the *bota** at Pozo d'Alcon, according to orders, a circumstance to those people of no importance, although their appetites in eating are voracious. After an uncomfortable night, morning appeared, and at daybreak we moved, and regained the road we had left; but it was soon clear that it was merely the communication with some corn patches, and that we were entering the deepest defiles of the forest. We heard a shepherd's voice, and on joining him ascertained that we were quite wrong, and had left the road two leagues. I engaged him to accompany us, and we retraced this distance, coming to the point where the man had, as it turned out, told the guide to keep to the right; instead of which, we had gone to the left. We now found the road, and passing some noble forest scenery, at midday came to the Fuente de Segura, the source of that river, which rises in a small marshy bottom. Near it is a *cortijo*, and a little further, two miserable hamlets adjoining each other in a small *barranco*, called the Pontones. The inhabitants were very civil, but their appearance wretched in

* Wine skin.

the extreme, the children running about naked, and their skins black and dirty, like young Indians. It was so uninviting that I went on to the Casas de Carrascas, another hamlet, at a short distance, which was much better. There was no *posada*, but we were received at a clean and respectable house, the custom being in this remote district to admit a stranger in any house where he may present himself. The host asked no questions, according to the Spanish etiquette, but he could not disguise his surprise at seeing us. We found a delicious skin of the wine of Baza, and having plenty of provisions soon forgot the discomfort of the night. The views from this village were extremely extensive, over forest glade in every direction. Below, the Segura found its way through a small gorge of white limestone to the warm vallies of Murcia; and on the other side, bolder features marked the descent of the streams to Andalusia and the Guadalquivir. I engaged a fresh guide to Orcera, intending to discharge the other, but he begged so hard to be allowed to accompany, as he said, from "friendship," in which he was joined by my own attendant, that I was forced to give way, and we set out. We passed along a very narrow ridge, which parts the streams of the Segura and Guadalquivir, and saw many groupes of noble pines, which the barbarity of the peasants had destroyed by firing them during the summer, leaving the lifeless trunks standing; a practice as common here as useless and destructive. We soon came to a pass, which by a rapid and precipitous descent led to the bed of a torrent, one of the principal feeders of the northern branch of the Guadalquivir. The scene was beautiful, the pines in groupes threw the deepest shade, from which we were constantly emerging, and a brilliant night succeeded. The glittering stars, the lights on the opposite mountain of Segura de la Sierra, the watch-fires in the *cortijos*, placed

under the rocks, recalled the splendid night and the camp fires of Ilion. The silence was only broken by the incessant barking of the sheep dogs, whose vigilance alone saved the flocks from depredation. The distance was inconsiderable, but the ignorance of the guides, for the last merely knew the road down the pass, and confessed that he had never been beyond it, and the difficulty of the road, which was badly marked, detained us considerably. At last we reached a deep ravine, above which rose the church and houses of Orcera. We were now completely at a stand, there was no trace of passage, save a carriage road made for transporting timber, which was known to take a wide circuit. None of the guides knew the way into the place, which was like an enchanted castle. The soldier had been quartered in the village a few months before, but he was as ignorant as the rest; nor could I, with a great deal of practice in making out roads, discern where the communication was. Some urchins were catching birds with a lantern on the other side, but they were intent on their occupation, and the noise of the water prevented their hearing us. At length we espied a gap in a garden hedge, and crossing it, passed through the *rambla*, or torrent, into a narrow cleft covered with evergreens, which led like a gallery up to the village. Every one had retired to rest, save a drowsy guard in the *plaza*, and we had great difficulty in finding admittance to a miserable *posada*. In the morning I arose early, and walked back to look at the country we had passed in the dark. I afterwards went in search of the authorities. My first visit was to the military commandant. I found an elderly, corpulent person, in an old uniform, a martyr to various complaints, of which gout and asthma were the most apparent. His secretary was the very counterpart of him, but rather less infirm. The object was to obtain his signature to my passport,

instead of that of the civil authorities, which I knew would be attended with trouble and delay. On leaving Granada, it had been countersigned by the Captain general, on purpose to avoid the inquiries of the *alcaldes* in these places. This extraordinary looking personage received me very civilly, and after entering into a history upon some other subject, a practice universal in the south, where they consider it rude to enter at once upon business, a custom of Eastern origin, and at times of most inconvenient usage, but like all the usages derived from thence, founded on the truest politeness, he proceeded to examine the passport. He pretended to carry on the conversation, another perfectly Oriental habit, but was in reality abstracted, and debating within himself whether he should take the responsibility or not. At last a quiver came over his features, and he said, "I cannot sign the passport; you must go to the *Alcalde*." I therefore proceeded to his house, which was of one story, the light being admitted by the door. I found a fat *Punch* in a peasant's dress, with a variety of other persons, some sitting on the clay floor, and others on low stools, supping with spoons out of a bowl, a mess of potatoes, which vegetable is in extensive use in the South of Spain. He was extremely polite, and desired me to go to the *escribano* in his name, and tell him to sign the passport. I repaired to the house of this functionary, who was much better lodged, but he was absent. I then called on a person to whom I was recommended, and whilst I was with him, the *Alcalde* came in, having thrown an old *capa* over his shoulders. He was attended by a young jackanapes, who appeared to be a relation, and who was unable to read, but was evidently inclined to make mischief, and was amusing himself at the expense of the old man. They were surprised to see me there, but soon entered in a low voice upon the subject of the visit, which was the

extraordinary occurrence of a stranger arriving in the place. After a time, as the Alcalde could make nothing out, my presence and letter of introduction obliging the host to be silent, he proposed to me to visit the superior authorities of the government establishment. To this I gladly assented, and the first I went to instantly set the matter right. There were two of them, naval officers, and gentlemen, as I found all the Spanish officers of the navy to be. Their manners afforded a curious contrast with those of the rude set around them. He offered me chocolate, and to the Alcalde, with admirable tact, produced a bottle for his morning whet, which contained a liquor of a greenish colour intended for the mountaineers, but which from its extreme strength the worthy man was unable to finish a glass of, although politeness made him reluctant to leave it. The junior of these officers was a man of literary habits and great information. He was at Trafalgar, which he spoke of with the simple and noble candour, characteristic and probably peculiar to this people, with feelings of admiration for the talent and courage by which it was achieved, and with a sensation, not uncommon amongst them, of a certain pride, at having witnessed that mighty scene, when the sentiments of defeat and disaster have passed away, and the passions of the time have yielded to other feelings. The affair of the passport being arranged, the officers offering to take the charge on themselves, we proceeded to the house of the *escribano*, whose duty it was to sign it. He was extremely civil, and said if I had called him up at any time in the night, he would have found me a billet. He was evidently in awe of his superior, and although the passport was perfectly correct, with the cunning of his craft, he conned it over with the view of picking a hole if possible, but only found a defect in the want of a number, a quibble easily refuted. He then pro-

ceeded to sign, but in a mode thoroughly distinguishing the class of persons he belonged to. * As there had never been a stranger in the place before, and it was, as they observed, a new thing, his object was to throw the responsibility on the naval officer, whilst he dared not openly refuse the office himself. He managed this scene with consummate skill and complete success; the shuffling manner in which he pretended to be doing himself what he was forcing on the other, being exactly contrasted with the simple and noble demeanour of the superior. This scene is detailed, as it shows the economy of a remote Spanish village. The only character wanting was the *cura*, or priest, whom I never saw, although there was a huge church. It was too small to afford a doctor, who, in the larger places, figures as one of the heads.

The village is a dependency of Segura de la Sierra, which is a league distant, on the summit of a ridge, and if it had not been for the civility of my brother officers, I might have been detained by consultations and cavils of various kinds for some hours. The establishment of this place is for the purpose of supplying Cadiz with timber from the Sierra, which is brought here, and, at a short distance below, floated down the Guadalquivir. There were formerly sumptuous buildings for the residences of the officers, which are now in ruins, having been burnt in the war of independence; the strength of the situation of the village having induced resistance to be made to the French.

The forest is about twenty Spanish leagues in length, by fifteen in breadth (eighty miles by sixty), and still contains a great deal of noble timber; but large quantities have been granted to individuals for the purpose of sale, and the

* The *escribano*, or notary, is a public officer, and is appointed to every place, however small.

peasants constantly burn whole districts, which are converted into unprofitable waste, as the burning climate prevents any herbage growing but where it is protected. The upper parts of the forest are nearly bare, a few junipers and hollies being almost the only underwood, and the side to Murcia, or that of the sun, appeared to be perfectly so. On the north it is different. The precipitous gorges shelter the soil from the burning heat, and it is covered with a luxuriant vegetation. Game of all kinds abounds, and wolves are so numerous, owing to the suspension of the grants of government for their destruction, that the flocks can scarcely be preserved. However, this evil is under a course of remedy. A few years ago, the *maestranza*, or nobility, of Granada had a grand *battue*, and destroyed a great number of animals. An account of the pines will be found in the abstract of forests.

I was very much pressed to remain, but the lateness of the season, and the work I had before me, prevented my doing so, and I set out for Linares by way of Ubeda and Baeza. Descending from the village, I entered a lovely country, covered with *lentiscus* and the usual plants of the warmer parts of Andalusia. The soil is red loam, and is very rich. At a short distance below, we passed a narrow defile of the Guadalimar, the northern branch of the Guadalquivir, with a curious bridge and a Moorish castle. The landscapes are quite in the style of Poussin, the village and castle of Segura de la Sierra terminating the view in every direction. I slept at Veas, a large ill-built place, in a narrow but fertile valley on a stream which falls into the Guadalimar. In the course of the evening the landlord told me that a *caballero* of the place would, with my permission, pay me a visit. He was a respectable and intelligent Biscayan, who had established a tannery on a superior principle in this sequestered place, and gladly

availed himself of the opportunity to see a stranger in a spot so little frequented. He sent me a dessert, and pressed me very much to spend the next day with him, which I was obliged to decline.

I proceeded in the morning through a broken country, and soon reached the tract called the Lomo de Ubeda, passing through Villanueva del Arzobispo and Villa Carrillo, poor and decaying places in a rich and fertile country, chiefly of oil and corn, with spacious *cortijos*, or farm houses. It rained heavily, and the state of the roads, and the manœuvring of my *mozo*, who was predetermined to sleep at Torre de Ubeda, a village a league short of the city, obliged me to stop there in a miserable *posada*. The country was full of *rateros*, and the Biscayner told me he was afraid to stir from home, but *Castro* * had been in the village the day before, and carried off several loose characters. Ubeda and Baeza are two ancient places, a league distant from each other, on the summit of the Lomo, between the two main streams of the Guadalquivir. The country is one of the most fertile in Andalusia; well watered, a strong loam, producing corn, oil and wine, cattle and horses, in abundance. The towns are decaying, and the appearance of the people is wretched and poor beyond measure, as is invariably the case in the agricultural districts, which seems to increase in the ratio of their fertility. Like true Andaluzes, however, their cheerfulness never leaves them. They rallied us on the appearance of our cattle, which the Sierra and the day before had considerably jaded, asking us to change with their fat beasts, much to my amusement, but not at all to that of the *mozo*, who was extremely sensible to ridicule, and who felt the merriment was at his expense.

* See Chapter on Robbers.

The rain of the preceding day had put every plough and mule in requisition to get the seed into the ground; I could not find an animal to hire, intending to discharge my *mozo* for his obstinacy the preceding day; but he was fined on his return to Granada. The people who were working in the fields, invited us to join their rustic meal, seated on the road side, as we passed along, the usual practice in Spain. After crossing the Guadalimar, I arrived at Linares, a large well-built place of modern date, but very dirty, which is now reviving, from the resumption of the works of the celebrated mines of lead and copper. These mines were known from the earliest antiquity. Some of the shafts are Roman and Moorish. They are in the hands of companies, and are working to advantage. There is but little water, and as yet only the most simple machinery is used. Scarcely any foreigners were employed in these mines. The people as usual were civil in the highest degree. Some *rateros* had robbed a party the night before, but the *realistas* were gone in pursuit of them.

I passed the following day there, and then crossed an open and uninteresting country, but of great fertility, watered by the two great branches of the Guadalquivir, to Jaen, which is a miserable place, with a magnificent cathedral, of which mention will be made under the head of architecture. The Moorish castle, of great strength, but now in ruins, stands on a height above the town.

The following day I set out for Granada, and travelled along a road excelled by none in Europe, being nearly finished, and intended to form the communication of that capital with Madrid. There were as yet no *posadas*, or even *ventas*, and only two bad villages near the midway, but they are to be built. The country is beautiful, a limpid and abundant stream watering a vale in features resembling those of Wales. The Portillo de Arenas, a small defile,

celebrated in Moorish warfare, is passed near Campillo, and after crossing a high range, we descended to the Vega of Granada.

The season was far advanced on my return from the Sierra de Segura, and after the observations on the geology of the vicinity were completed, the autumnal rains, which both years I was there set in about the 25th November, put a stop to further operations. These rains are extremely heavy and constant, and the climate damp and thick at that period.

As soon as the weather permitted, I set out for Malaga, by Motril and the coast, in order to see the sugar and cotton country, which lies in the Tierra Caliente, on the south side of the Sierra Nevada. I slept the first day at Lanjaron, which is out of the direct road, to enjoy once more the views of that beautiful place. From thence a broken road leads to the bed of the great river of Orgiva, which we entered a little below the *Campo* of the same name. In the rainy season it is a rapid and dangerous river. There was now a large body of water in the wide bed which we crossed very frequently. The bottom is firm and sound gravel, otherwise it would be insecure for the horses. The guides ascertain the depth and practicability of fording with great ease, by throwing in a stone and observing the noise of the splash. After descending in this manner a considerable distance, we ascended a narrow road, and soon entered the little *huerta* of Velasillo. It forms a plateau or table, elevated like a terrace above the bed of the river of Orgiva, which is covered with gardens and white flat-roofed houses, mixed with orange and lemon trees. A copious stream, clear as crystal, is conducted through the grounds, and after dispensing fertility amongst them, is precipitated over

the terrace, in the manner of the cascabelle at Tivoli. On a broken height at the back is a Moorish keep or feudal castle, of the shape of an irregular polygon. Above, in perspective, towering over the lower chain, is seen the Piz de Veleta, one of the highest peaks of the Sierra Nevada. From this sequestered spot, which is one of the most beautiful places in this region, the more so from its situation in the midst of barren mountains, a carriage road has been made to Motril, which is part of a plan to complete the communication between that place and Granada.

Motril is a small town, with some activity in trade and contraband. It is at a moderate distance from the sea, on a plain covered with plantations of sugar and cotton. The *chirimoya* is common, growing in the open air. I tasted the fruit, which was scarcely ripe, but it was well flavoured, something resembling the guava. They said the season was unfavourable, and that they were inferior to the usual produce. The trees were in perfect health.

An important branch of agriculture has lately been tried here with complete success; the production of rice of a kind brought from Puerto Rico, which is called *arroz secano*, from its growing on dry ground like corn, and not requiring to be laid under water, which causes the fertile lands susceptible of this lucrative culture at Valencia and other parts of the south of Europe to be converted into abodes of pestilence and death. The specimen I saw grown here appeared perfect, and several species, to the number of no less than fourteen, from the Philippine Islands, were in the course of trial. Should they answer, the benefit to this country, especially Valencia, will be immense. Coffee has been tried, but unsuccessfully, and it is hardly to be regretted that experiments should have

failed, so seductive in appearance, but the produce of which could not be expected to withstand competition with the tropical climates, and most probably would have caused the expenditure of time and capital to little purpose. The cotton grows well, and is reputed to be of excellent quality, but they complain of the autumnal winds being injurious to the crops when they are just ripe; this I could readily credit, for the morning I left the place, a gale came suddenly down from the Sierra with a violence it was difficult to withstand. The horses could scarcely keep their legs in passing the exposed parts of the road, and to be able to sketch, I was obliged to creep into a hole in a rock. The sky was perfectly clear, and gave none of the usual signs of a tempest, and in a few hours it ceased.

The *vega*, or plain, of Motril, is a flat which has been formed by the transported materials brought down by the river of Orgiva, the mouth of which is to the west. At a league distant is Salobreña, a bold headland, with a ruined castle on the summit, the only remains of the palaces and hanging gardens of the Moors, of whom it was one of the celebrated retreats. There is a small *vega*, principally planted with sugar canes; all around is desert. Almuñecar is the next place, which is a small neat town on a beautiful bay, with a territory of sugar canes. There is a large establishment lately set up, by a public spirited and enterprising company of Germans at Malaga, with a view of improving the manufacture of sugar and rum, by the introduction of English machinery in place of the rude apparatus of the old Spanish *ingenios*. A sample of rum I tasted was certainly equal to that of the West Indies, and sugar which, by the old method, had an unpleasing appearance, but was abundantly saccharine, will no doubt be equally good. West of this there is a wild tract of uncult-

tivated waste, where I passed a body of men employed in grubbing up aromatic shrubs, the only substitute these mountains now afford for better fuel to heat the furnaces. The forests, which once clothed them to the water's edge, have long since vanished, and this is now their only produce. These men remain out for several days together, sleeping in the open air. Their provisions are sent them, and I am told, in this laborious life, where they are left entirely to themselves, they do ample justice to their employers.

An open plain, backed by moderately elevated hills, with the sea in front, succeeds this unproductive waste. Nerja is the principal village of this plain, where grow the largest canes I saw in the Tierra Caliente. Torrox, and other spots on the road to Velez, contain sugar plantations, which are, in fact, at every stream, and wherever a supply of water allows the copious irrigation indispensable during the burning heats of summer. Velez, which has a beautiful territory around it, is the western termination of this curious culture, which commences at Adra. The soil of the fertile *vega* of Velez is red marle, differing from that of the various spots enumerated above, where it is chiefly *detritus*, forming a black and friable soil. I heard the annual produce of the whole coast estimated, by a competent judge, at twenty thousand quintals, about nine hundred and forty tons English weight. The gains have been enormous in these plantations, but are now much reduced. I found it impossible to collect information to enable me to form a true idea of their real value, or returns made to the grower, owing to the great fluctuations in value; but it appears, that if the demand and price were steady, they could sell on a par with the colonial produce. The more valuable parts of them are subject to the tithe of the arch-

bishop of Granada, but it is collected with great moderation and lenity. They complained much of the times, and many people talked of changing the cultivation ; but it is difficult to judge how far these complaints were grounded, or whether they were, as is probable, only their quota to the universal agricultural distress of the country.

At Velez I was shown a plantation of cacao plants, which some speculator had tried. They were struggling for existence, which the winter would probably terminate. An open piece of ground, exposed to the burning rays of an almost ever shining sun, had been selected to make this experiment, with a plant which I have understood requires shade and moisture. The *batata*, or sweet potatoe, is extensively cultivated in the neighbourhood of Malaga. The are fully equal or superior to those of the West Indies, and are sent to various parts of the country, where they are roasted and eaten with the dessert.

Another branch, which promises one day to be of great value to this part of the coast, is the cochineal insect. The facility of producing it has been proved most satisfactorily, and the quality is excellent. Some I saw at Cadiz was considered equal to the best from America. The difficulty at present is the price, as they say it cannot be brought to pay the expense. That must, however, diminish with practice. Another complaint is the tithe, which on a production of such intrinsic value, is a serious and probably insurmountable evil, and will operate to retard the progress of the cultivation, unless some means be taken to prevent it. The coast of Malaga seems particularly suited to it. There are abundance of warm and sheltered spots now unproductive, that merely require the addition of common walls to break the wind, which is prejudicial to the insects. The *caetus opuntia* grows naturally, and they cannot urge

the argument brought against the increase of the mulberry tree, that water is wanted. A garden has been formed near Malaga, with a view to the trial of the culture of exotic plants, which it is to be hoped may excite the industry which is so lamentably deficient in this beautiful province.

CHAPTER IV.

By the north Coast from Bilbao to Gijon and Oviedo, Leon, Valladolid, and Burgos.

IN the autumn of 1831, I went from Bilbao to Santander, having hired mules, the road between these important towns being impracticable for any other mode of conveyance. My guide was a Biscayan, by name Claudio Padura, a perfect model of his class, the exact counterpart of which is to be found in no other country but Spain. I retained him long after his engagement was expired, and found his services, fidelity, and attention on many occasions invaluable. Like some others who are occasionally met with, especially in the northern provinces, he was often confidentially employed on business requiring not only the greatest intelligence and integrity, but tact and management far superior to what might be expected from persons in that station of life. As soon as you leave the free provinces, of which the boundary is at a short distance from Bilbao, and enter Castile, cultivation may be said to cease; being confined to a few spots. We passed near Santoña, a detached mountain on the shore, almost isolated, which was converted by the French into a strong position, and figures in the history of the late war. We crossed the bay to Santander, the road round it being circuitous, and seldom used, when the weather permits the passage of boats. The people of the free provinces alone seem aware of the pro-

priety of building bridges over the torrents, which are even of more importance than the roads; and the instant you quit their territory, the difference is perceived. This route is intersected by streams and estuaries, at each of which is a miserable custom-house guard, to the number of no less than seven, in as many leagues; who severally demand a fee to avoid unloading the mules, which they may require to be done. Their formula "In the name of the king, I request to see this baggage," is the plain Spanish for a *pe-seta*. On no other occasion do you hear his Majesty's name pronounced by his numerous officers.

Santander is a thriving town, with some new *manzanas*, or stacks of building, but without public edifices, or works of art of any kind. It is perhaps the only place in Spain of similar magnitude, where no artist, in any department, has left a memorial of his skill, and the name is not seen in the minute lists of Cean Bermudez. It is the chief seaport of old Castile, and it seems to be the object of the government, to make it the principal mart to supply Madrid. It enjoys the privilege of trading with the colonies, for which the situation is on the whole more favourable than that of the ports on the Mediterranean; and although inferior to Coruña as a seaport, it has the advantage of possessing intercourse with the capital, and a vast internal communication. The exportation of wool is shared at present with Bilbao, but when the roads are completed, it will have the superiority over that port from its greater proximity to the merino districts.

A new and important branch of trade has lately been opened, the exportation of the wheat of Castile, which is ground and exported to Cuba, large mills having been erected in the mountains for the purpose. It is protected by duties, otherwise it could not withstand the competition of that of North America, and they admit that it cakes, and

does not keep or bear the transporting so well as the flour of the United States. This may be caused by some defect in the manufacture, or management in the packing, as certainly the wheat of Castile has apparently all the qualities necessary for the purpose. The millstones are brought from Briones on the Ebro, and are, I believe, of inferior quality to those of the south of Spain.* There are iron mines in the mountains, and the government had a considerable foundry which is now let. The *Astillero*, or building establishment of the marine, where, I was told, the *Santissima Trinidad* was built, and some other ships of the line, is now unemployed. The forests of this chain supplied the last building materials of native growth for the navy of Spain. The elevated range which separates this part of the coast from the central plain is called the *Montaña de Santander*, more frequently abbreviated to *La Montaña*. The inhabitants are generally known by the name of *moutañeses*. They are a robust and vigorous race, of sterling character, and famed for their industry and fidelity. A valley, enclosed in a wintry region, amidst the highest summits, I have been informed, is the residence of a peculiar clan, which from time immemorial has had the privilege of furnishing a small body, somewhat in the style of the cent Suisses formerly at Paris, but civilly employed, which have the charge of a confidential office near the royal person.

* When the Spanish wheat was first introduced to the English market, a difficulty was found in grinding it, from the extreme hardness of the grain. They naturally inquired for the stones, and some of those of Briones had been sent for trial. They are, I believe, grits, no doubt of the red sandstone. In the south, two sorts are used; one a homogeneous conglomerate of the secondary limestone in angular unrolled fragments, the other, which I understand to be the best, is brought from beds near Medina Sidonia. I never saw these stones, but believe them, from the description I heard, to be also sandstone grits.

The canal of Castile, when finished, will reach a point within fifteen leagues of this place, leaving a portage which may be shortened by using the creeks at the upper end of the bay. The road to Burgos was opened in 1832, and regular diligences now circulate in communication with those of Madrid. There is a noble bay, with anchorage for a fleet, and a small but secure harbour. It is also intended to be made a watering place; but, in most respects, it is inferior for that purpose to St. Sebastian, and the place is less bustling and animated. They are a cheerful and sociable people. Subscription balls were about to commence for the season; an amusement common in the seaports, where there is more activity than in the towns of the interior.

The road to Gijon is execrable, and the communication constantly interrupted by wide ferries of estuaries, some of them dangerous, and always causing delay to the traveller. The villages are poor, and houses ill-built; you pass through narrow lanes, with dung laid out to be trodden down by the mules and animals passing, in the style of the wilder parts of Cornwall. In places there are verdant meadows, and the traveller has the rare fortune in the Peninsula, of traversing short distances on the finest turf, and seeing hay-makers at work.

The first day I slept at a miserable place on an estuary, with the sounding title of San Vicente de la Barquera. There was nothing to eat but the provisions we had brought, and the lower part of the house had such an uninviting appearance, that I preferred sleeping in a loft, in which their crop of Indian corn had just been deposited.

The next day we entered Asturias. It was my intention to reach Riba de Cella that day, but my guide said it was impracticable, and our departure was deferred so long, that night overtook us, and we were obliged to stop at a

hamlet where there was no *posada*, and with difficulty I obtained a bad lodging in a private house. Riba de Cella is the best place on the route. It is situated in a deep indenture at the mouth of a river surrounded by mountains, forming magnificent scenery, in the style of Salvator. The third day, being unable to reach Gijon, we turned out of the direct road to the left, and slept at Villaviciosa, where there is an excellent inn. This a tolerable place, with a mild climate, in a valley celebrated for its fertility. From thence, after ascending a rugged range, commanding most extensive views, we arrived after mid-day at Gijon.

The country, in this route from Bilbao to Gijon, is exceeded in natural beauty and fertility by few in Europe. The character is exactly opposite to that of the other side of the Peninsula, where all is aridity, and only the plants are seen which thrive under the burning rays of a cloudless sun, save where nurtured and forced by man. Here all is natural and almost eternal verdure. You travel amid *arbutus*, the bay or *laurus nobilis* which forms large trees and grows amongst their dunghills, the *alaternus*, *phillyrea*, holly, fern, and *ulex* or furz abound, and the ivy, which is rare in the interior. The common *ilex*, which is only seen in this part of Spain, occurs in places, and the beautiful *menziezia daboeci*, Irish heath, is seen in prodigious quantities. The chestnut and the common oaks and hazle are the natural growth of the soil; walnuts, apple and pear orchards are attached to every house. The orange and even the lemon grow luxuriantly, but I believe their fruit is not brought to perfection. A hedge of *caetus* surrounded the garden of some amateur, who had probably lived in Andalusia or Valencia. The coast is generally bold and rocky, the cliffs supporting elevated table lands; but the scenery is occasionally varied by descending to flat and sandy beaches. Numerous streams of the clearest water,

abounding in trout and other fish, flow from the mountains.

This beautiful country is one of the poorest in Spain, although the people are far from wanting in industry. Their houses are badly built; they are the worst clothed, and the most uncleanly in their persons in the whole kingdom; they are generally ill-favoured and rugged in features. The inimitable sketch of Maritornes is a perfect resemblance of some of the lower classes. In no instance did Cervantes show his knowledge of his own country more than in summing up the description by making her an Asturian. I saw some individuals, of both sexes, of a caste quite peculiar, and differing from these or any other I observed in Spain. The features of these were very fine, especially the nose, which was aquiline, the eyes of the finest blue, and the hair yellow. They are most assuredly remains of the Visigoths, and resemble the inhabitants of some parts of Switzerland, who are known to derive their descent from the Goths, but are of a lighter and more elegant make than the heavy races of the Alps.

This country differs from most parts of Spain; the people living in hamlets and detached houses, which are thickly planted and covered with trees, in the manner of those in Devon. This circumstance, and the easy defence, and annoyance of an enemy, made the holding of it by the French nearly impossible, and they only remained a few months. We passed by a place where a fair was holding, and in a narrow way a number of peasants were assembled with long and light poles. As we approached, they drew up in a double line, with their poles shouldered, as in the act of preventing our passage, but without speaking or making any gesticulation. I passed on, when they all lowered their implements as if to knock down the guide, who was behind, recovering their arms just as they reached

him. This was meant as a friendly greeting to an old acquaintance, and an amicable parley immediately ensued. Indian corn seems to be the only grain cultivated in any quantity; the wheat and barley are brought from Castile. No wine is made in the country, and the common drink of the people is a bad cider. Attached to each house is a magazine, or small building of wood, exactly a miniature of the common Swiss cottages, the size bearing a perfect proportion to the parent building, and mounted on pyramidal stones, in the same manner as stacks are placed in some parts of England to prevent vermin climbing up. In these are kept their stores and provisions. I observed many of them by the road side unlocked, bearing silent testimony to the honesty of this rude people.

The inhabitants of the towns, especially on the sea coast, are better dressed, and have a more healthy appearance than those in the country. The women at Gijon and Oviedo are as dark as the Andaluzas, a proof that the climate has little to do with complexion. In this country neither the extremes of heat or cold are felt, save in the highest mountains. I was informed at Gijon that the thermometer in winter was seldom under 60° of Fahrenheit, which the growth of the ever-greens would confirm. The orange and lemon trees had been cut by the dreadful winter of 1829-30, but they were nearly recovered from the calamity shared in common with many parts of the Tierra caliente.

Gijon resembles Tenby on a larger scale, and is far more beautiful. A jutting headland projects in the middle of a vast sandy beach stretched out on either side, forming extensive bays. On the flat, inside the promontory, is built the town, the flanks extending to both beaches. On the western side is a small close mole made at a great expense; on the east the bay is open; on the west at a

league distance it terminates in the mural precipices of Cape Torres, nearly parallel to which, far to the north, is seen the dusky line of cape Peñas, one of the northern capes of the Peninsula, which, except in colour, may be compared to Flamborough head. To the south, low rising grounds intercept the view of the great features of the country, but a short ride conducts the traveller to views of the Alpine barrier of the centre of Asturias, the scene of the exploits of Pelayo, when these mountains were the last refuge against the Moslems. His sanctuary of Covadonga is amidst this chain to the south-east.

Gijon was the property of one of the great families of Spain, who held the sovereignty until a recent period, when it was obtained by the government. It is of little use at present to any one, as the trade is nearly extinct, being almost confined to the shipping of nuts for England in the autumn, and a small quantity of coal, which the present laws are calculated to impede rather than encourage. The harbour is confined, but there is an excellent situation for making a larger one, were it required, on the opposite side of the western bay. It is the principal port of Asturias, and the vicinity and easy communication with Oviedo, the coal mines, and the roads now open to the interior of old Castile may cause a revival of its commerce. It contains no buildings of note or any objects of art excepting some statues of Hernandez and Borja. The traffic of the country is carried on almost exclusively by carts drawn by small and ill-bred bullocks, through roads no other animal could travel upon. The deep and narrow vallies resound with the creaking noise of the revolving axles, so common in the Peninsula.

There is a carriage road by the plain, from Gijon to Oviedo, but I crossed the country to see the coal mines, which are nearly equidistant from both places. The road

is execrable, over chains of hills commanding the most magnificent views, resembling the north of Devon, but on an infinitely greater scale.

We passed by La Pola, a large village in an upland vale, where there is a beautiful fragment of architecture in the style of Bramante; a palace which had been commenced in the best time, and then left unfinished, a strange contrast with all around it. After crossing a high ridge, we descended to the river Nalon, in the vale of which is the small village of Sangreo. We had been travelling for some time over the rich coal field of Asturias, but no notice was given of such a district; not a particle of smoke, no carriage road, much less rail-ways. We met *cargas* on mules proceeding to Gijon over roads hardly practicable for an unladen animal, and where in places I was glad to dismount. Groves of chestnuts and the most luxuriant vegetation cover the seams which come to the surface in the precipitous hills that bound the deep valley of the Nalon. Amid these groves were seen a few men, who pierced a short distance into a seam with perpendicular walls on each side, working the mineral as long as it served their purpose, and then seeking another vein. No machinery of any kind is used or required. The workmen are the proprietors and sell the product to the muleteers; who carry it to Gijon and dispose of it to the merchants. The communication is so bad, that although the distance to Gijon is only five leagues, the laden mules were unable to effect it in one day. These people are extremely poor. They are without capital, and as government have no right of interference by the present laws, and no capitalist can be found to embark in it, the mines are almost useless. The price on the spot is six *quartos*, about two-pence, per mule load of eight to ten *arrobas*, or one *peseta*, about ten-pence half-penny, for the loading of a car drawn by two oxen.

The Nalon, which waters this district, is a clear and beautiful stream running in a wide and gravelly bed, about the size of the north Tyne at its junction with the southern branch. It abounds in trout, although every method is in daily use to destroy them. There is no good bridge, and the miners are at present confined to one bank, the river being impassable in the freshes, which are of frequent occurrence in this watery region. The lower part of the valley is well cultivated, and the country, in natural beauty, cannot be surpassed. The government once speculated in these mines, and I was informed that large sums were laid out in the useless task of attempting to make the Nalon navigable, only serving, like so many other undertakings, to enrich the administrators.

I proceeded to Oviedo through a very beautiful country. The capital of Asturias is surrounded by an amphitheatre of mountains, bearing a resemblance to some situations on the German side of the Alps, and amid equally verdant scenery. It is a tolerable town, with some bustle and activity in the market. Fresh butter is sold in abundance, being preserved in skins like sausages, and is now sent to Castile, and to other parts of the drier country. The cathedral is of inferior size to some others, but is one of the most beautiful in Spain.* It contains no works of art of importance, excepting some sculpture of Hernandez. In the church of St. Francisco is a curious specimen of ancient superstition now rarely met with. The noble family of Valdecarriana have their burying place in the church, and stipulate, on giving the monks some *fanegas* of wheat annually on a certain day, that during mass they shall have the privilege of introducing a bullock, to remain during the ceremony. The good fathers were unable to resist the

* See the Chapter on Architecture for the description.

temptation of the wheat of Castile, but on their part, the saving condition is annexed, that the Cross shall not be carried in front of the procession. The contract is written in large letters on the wall of the chapel. I proceeded to Leon by a royal carriage road, the northern part of which was made some years since. The country is magnificent, but the villages poor and ill-built. Campomanes, which is the principal, has a new and tolerable *posada*, where I found excellent red trout, and a delicious wine, like Grave, from Castile. Pajares is a poor and miserable place near the summit of the *puerto*, or pass, which bears its name. The elevation is considerable, the region is wild and wintry, and the communications are often interrupted by the snow. The descent on the southern side is by a new line of road, nearly finished, which cannot be surpassed for design and execution. The only defect is in the upper stratum of stones not being broken sufficiently small. As we descended, the country changed its appearance, and the dry and parched aspect of Castile, with its cloudless sun, succeeded the fogs, verdure, and luxuriant vegetation we had left in Asturias.

To Leon from Pajares are ten long leagues without a *posada*, at least a decent one. We fed the mules in a *corral*, where was shade for the riders, and a little wine, but nothing else could be procured. There are, through this wild route, many hamlets and places of refuge intended for travellers, but they are now untenanted and useless. There were many *arrieros* and *margottos*, a variety of them, travelling with oil, wine, and wheat, to supply the Asturians. Some were from the Sierra de Gata, on the opposite side of Old Castile; others had journeyed from Estremadura; and some even from Andalusia, leading the wandering life so congenial to the habits of the Spanish peasantry. They were in general of the inferior description of muleteers. I

looked in vain for some of the strings of fat mules of Arevalo, with their splendid trappings, described by Cervantes. The misery of the times bears heavily upon both men and animals. The places they rest in are far inferior to those in the southern districts, although the climate is ruder, and warmth and shelter much more requisite. The state of the roads had not yet permitted the establishment of diligences, and the communications were kept up, for the richer class of travellers, by carriages which go from Oviedo to Madrid occasionally, in the manner of the Italian vetturini. A conveyance had just started for the purpose of carrying fresh fish from Gijon to Madrid, by relays of mules, in opposition to a similar enterprise at Bilbao. From the nature of their cargo, the preservation of which depended on the rapidity of the transport, they traversed the country night and day, at a pace quite incredible. Accidents constantly occurred in consequence, and one of them arrived at a place where I was, in a disastrous condition. My attendant, from Bilbao, who was a perfect master of every branch of business connected with mules and carriages, was sent for to direct the refitting, which the party was quite unequal to. He informed me, that the *mayoral* to whom the important charge had been entrusted, and on whom every thing depended, had been taken out of some kitchen at Madrid, and had never left the city before. Other circumstances were related on the road, of the bad management of this scheme, on which I understood some *intendente* of a southern province was spending a portion of his gains. It was impossible this speculation should answer, and in a few months a failure took place; followed by that of the rival company, which had much better prospects of success. Leon is a decayed and miserable place, without commerce of any kind, and is chiefly supported by the chapter and other religious establishments. The cathedral,

the architecture of which will be described in its place, is deservedly celebrated, and is one of the finest specimens of the pure Gothic. The windows are almost entirely of painted glass, some of which is extremely beautiful, but it contains neither sculpture nor painting of value, and is disfigured by a barbarous modern introduction, called the *transparente*. * There is a spacious palace belonging to a noble family, who have possessions in the neighbourhood. It is apparently of the sixteenth century, but was never finished, owing to an injunction of the Court. I crossed the plain of Leon to Benevente. The town is extensive, but a miserable and ill-built place. The castle occupies a promontory at the extremity of it, washed on one side by a beautiful stream, a branch of the Esla, and the other bounded by the plain. On the town side is an open esplanade. The castle, which is now a complete ruin, was composed of several styles of architecture. The Moorish is visible in a window near the entrance, but the interior of that part of the building is completely destroyed, and it is impossible now to know the details of it. The walls form a sort of double body or inclosure of vast solidity, with a corridor, wide enough for a carriage, running through great part of it, above which were the principal rooms of the old part of the castle. The inner area was open, and formed a sort of oval, all the offices and other buildings being disposed around it. The great staircase, now in ruins, must have been magnificent. The part furthest from the entrance is the most modern, and was apparently intended for the occasional residence of the family, the principal rooms having *miradors* or galleries for look out. From the solidity with which this division was built, the shell remains entire, but the inside is

* See Churriguera, in the Chapter on Architecture.

completely demolished. Over the great gateway is a noble tower, of the Norman Style, yet entire. The military entrance was by a narrow ascending road, under the wall on the side opposite the river, outside of which was a small detached rampart for the purpose of covering and defending it. It was also completely commanded from the body of the castle. The whole formed a compact mass of great strength and solidity. It was certainly capable of defence, but there appears nothing to justify the wanton and nearly complete destruction of private property in the barbarous manner this noble remain of ancient times has experienced. So entire is the destruction of the interior, that it is with difficulty the plan can be made out. Fragments of marble statues are lying about, and there are abundant proofs that no expense had been spared in decorating this building, which was probably the finest feudal remain in Spain. In scale, and in some other respects, it bears some resemblance to Ragland, but it has this striking difference from our feudal castles, that there is no detached keep, or inner entrenchment of any kind, all the defence being from the outside. From the manner in which the late war was carried on, it is not improbable that this wanton havock was committed, as much to revenge the uncompromising and determined opposition made, by the noble family to which it belongs, to the invasion of Bonaparte, as for the mere military reasons which could be given to excuse it. Like many acts of the same description, the trouble taken to destroy works, which in other countries would have been left unnoticed, is an involuntary homage rendered to the Spanish people.

Benevente is the central point of communication and of the administration of couriers of all the north-west of Spain, and, when the roads are completed to Galicia and Asturias, will become of much greater consequence. I

took the road to Valladolid, dining the first day at Villalpando, a large village, where a fragment of an antique relief of white was encrusted in a mud wall. We slept at Rio Seco, a well built place, with two noble churches, The Parroquia contains excellent sculpture of Juni and Jordano. A branch of the canal of Castile is to communicate with it, and will be of vast utility for exporting the produce of the plains around. The next day I proceeded to Valladolid. We crossed an open country, without passing through a village or a hamlet, or even by a *venta* for five leagues, the few which are seen being out of the direct line of the route. The country from Leon to Valladolid is amongst the most unpleasing to the eye in the whole of Spain; vast open plains, with miserable mud-built villages, form a monotony unrelieved by an agreeable object. The land is good in the greater part of it, and produces corn of all kinds, and excellent wine. All around these villages are tracts, now waste, which would grow the finest timber of every sort, whilst the miserable fires are made of straw smouldering under earth, and other substances to retain the scanty heat. There is an almost total want of better fuel to resist the piercing cold of winter, which is extremely severe. Between these towns the road is through ploughed fields the greater part of the way, and in winter, when flooded, it is nearly impracticable. Materials are wanting, and the construction of solid roads through the plain is an enterprise the financiers have hitherto stood aghast at, from the vast expense it would entail. There would appear to be reasons for making the communication through Valladolid, but at present, a line a little shorter to the west, by Tordesillas, which passes by no place of consequence, is considered the high road of Galicia and Asturias, and is that frequented by both couriers and travellers.

Valladolid is, of all the more modern towns in Spain, that from which the traveller would experience the greatest disappointment. It has long been hastening to decay, and the ruthless hand of war has borne more heavily on it than on any other. It had the misfortune to be selected as a place of arms, and the review of sixty thousand men by Napoleon, in person, which I had heard them boast of having taken place, was a sad presage of its inevitable fate. Every thing had been converted into military establishments. In many places the inscriptions of their various uses have not yet been effaced, and some convents, which had been cleared, have never been reoccupied. The treasures of painting it once contained have entirely disappeared, and neither public nor private collection exists. Of sculpture, however, there is still an ample store, and the works of Berruguete, Becerra, Jordan, Juni, Aguiles, and Hernandez will repay the examination of their decaying churches. There is little good architecture besides the cathedral, which is unfinished, and the noble Gothic church of the Benedictines, with its adjuncts,* but the *plaza mayor* and the *campo*, a vast open space near the entrance from Madrid, which they are now laying out for public walks in the style of beauty and taste of all similar works in Spain, distinguish the capital of old Castile. There are amongst the houses some fragments of the better times of architecture, when the Roman style was the subject of imitation. The chief support of this ruined place is the *Audiencia* or Chancery court, of which the processes compel the residence of great numbers of individuals from all parts of its extensive jurisdiction. I have been informed that the mixture of characters, thus thrown together, give a free and liberal tone to the society, unlike what might be expected from

* See the description of both these churches under the head of Architecture.

the grave character of the old Castilians. In their manners the people have the polish of an ancient capital, and the purest accent and idiom, like the Italian of Siena, is spoken by every class.

I visited Fuen Saldaña, a large village at a long league distance from the city. It contains a curious Moorish castle, the body forming a parallelogram of great height, with circular towers at the angles, and in the centre of the longer sides. It is nearly perfect, and in front is an advanced line, of lower elevation, also flanked by towers in a similar manner. It is now uninhabited, and occupied as a corn magazine. In a small convent of nuns, are three celebrated pictures of Rubens. The principal is the altar-piece, and is amongst the finest of his works. It is a large picture representing the Assumption of the Virgin with angels, treated in a great and masterly style, in which he has almost left the Flemish forms, and seems to have attempted to rival the Bolognese school. The design is accordingly pure and chaste, but full of fire and animation, and the colouring magnificent. The other pictures are collaterals, or flanking pieces, representing St. Antonio with the child, and St. Francis receiving the stigmata, in a beautiful landscape, which is injured. The great picture was carried to France, and restored in 1815. Unfortunately, the sisterhood are too poor to be able to take the requisite care of this splendid work, which is perishing in a damp and secluded situation, where it is seldom visited, and the interference of government is required to save it from the inevitable destruction which is awaiting it, if allowed to remain.

The road to Burgos is magnificent, and you travel at a rate not to be disdained in England. The cathedral is described under the head of architecture, and the sculpture

under the head of Becerra, Haya, and others. In a private chapel is a Magdalene, one of the very finest specimens of Leonardo da Vinci, and in another chapel, is a magnificent design of M. Angelo, coloured by Sebastian del Piombo. In a dark part of the church, is a picture, I think the Madonna, which appeared to me of Andrea del Sarto, original or copy. The convents are ruined, and the place decaying; but some branches of woollen manufacture are in force, the best *mantas* in Spain being made here. From Valladolid I took the diligence to Madrid. The bridge over the Duero had been broken down by a flood. It was nearly ready, and I was assured the work had been done, owing to the increased activity of the administration of the roads, in a space of time incredible to those acquainted with the old system; one of the many proofs that the people only require energy on the part of those who direct them. I made an excursion from Olmedo to La Mejorada, a celebrated convent of Geronimos, monks of St. Jerome, to see some sculpture of Berruguete. The buildings are extensive, but by no means on a scale of magnificence or good taste, and are now hastening to decay. A few of the dronish inhabitants only remain. Every thing of value, excepting the sculpture, which is mentioned in its place, is gone. The road from Valladolid to Madrid is the worst of all the royal roads in Spain, whilst that from the former place to Burgos is the best. The consequence is, the administration plead the excuse and have the worst appointed *tiros** in the whole country. The journey is protracted to an unusual and unnecessary length. In this case we narrowly escaped having a three days' journey to perform a distance of little more than thirty leagues, owing to

* Teams of mules, consisting of seven or eight, which form the relays.

the bridge being broken; but a proposal was made by the *mayoral* that we should start at midnight from Olmedo, so as to arrive at Madrid the same night. This was readily arranged, the mixed company in these conveyances being far more polite and ready to accommodate each other, than those in general found in similar circumstances in other countries.

CHAPTER V.

From Madrid to Cuenca and Guadalajara by the Alcarria.

I visited the Sierra de Cuenca in June, 1832, in order to complete some geological observations and to ascertain its relations with the Sierra de Segura, the connexion of its forests with those of that district, and to examine the works of several artists in the cathedral.

I had sent for the same mules and attendant which had accompanied me from Bilbao in the preceding autumn, the additional expense being more than compensated by knowing my *mozo*, and avoiding the trouble of hiring fresh animals at different places, and the inconvenience of bad saddles. We left Madrid by the Puerto de Atocha, passing under the walls of the Retiro. After crossing the Jarama, near its junction with the Manzanares, where are a part of the works of the unfinished canal, intended to connect the capital with the Tagus, the country improves; and at Arganda, which is on an eminence at a short distance from the united streams, it is comparatively pretty, being formed of olive grounds, vineyards, and corn lands. Perales, where I slept, is a small village in a deep and fertile valley. The whole of this country produces excellent red wine. Villarejo, the next place in the route, is a large village in a fine open country, with a castle in rude imitation of the beautiful Moorish one of Fuen Saldaña, near Valladolid.* After this is a

* See the Chapter on the North Coast.

dreary tract without a tree to Fuente Dueña del Tajo, a miserable village with the remains of a strong castle of the time subsequent to the Moors. It was nearly ruined in the war of independence. The situation is on a rising ground, at a short distance from a bridge of the Tagus, which was lately swept away by the united effects of a flood and rafts of timber descending from the Sierra de Cuenca. We crossed in a ferryboat, and traversed a dismal country to Tarancon, a large but ill-built and miserable place without a good *posada*. The soil is good, and it produces oil and excellent wine and corn. The situation is most advantageous, being the central point of all the southern roads. That from Madrid is the horse or short road to Valencia, and will finally be the communication between that city and the Metropolis, being several leagues shorter than that by Albaceta and Almanza. It is accordingly followed by the *arrieros* and *galeras*, but the latter are at present, on account of the roads, obliged to make a long detour by Aranjuez, and sometimes Ocaña. It is also the communication with Cuenca, and with the western part of the Alcarria. A new and magnificent road conducts from this to Cuenca, and is intended to be part of the great line of Valencia. The villages are poor, and the population scanty, on the whole route. At a few miles distance, the scenery changes, the road passes a defile in a bold range of hills, and verdure relieves the eye. The country, as you rise in elevation, assumes a northern aspect. Tracts of marsh or bog occupy the flats, and are drained with science and effect. There are no inns, but I slept at a *parador*, established at the public expense, which serves at the same time as a toll-house. It was quite full, owing to the *ordinario* or *galera* of Cuenca having arrived, and the unusual accident on this road of a carriage, in which was an old general with his wife, repairing to take the command at

Cuenca, with an escort of cavalry; but the master gave me up his room, with a clean and excellent bed. This road is planted in most places with trees, and there are station houses at intervals, a plan which ought to be universal, but is very rare in Spain.

Above this place, which is near the village of La Horcajada, the country becomes more mountainous, and the pine and oak begin to appear. An imperceptible rise conducts to a high *puerto*, which divides the waters flowing respectively to the Mediterranean and the Ocean. In descending to the Xucar, open woodlands and corn patches succeed. After passing a defile, through which the river flows, an avenue of young trees borders the road to the city of Cuenca. You enter it by a bridge, designed like a Roman work, but unfortunately the materials the most easy to work have been selected, and the stone is now considerably decomposed. The best *posada* is on the ascent to the city, and is a vast and solid building, the lower part forming a magnificent stable on arches, above which at different elevations are the rooms. This, and several other buildings, with a noble approach to the upper part of the city, were made by one of the bishops. The buildings were by law his property, but were bequeathed to the public. So small is the intercourse with Madrid, that after trying several channels, I found it impossible to procure a single letter of recommendation. The Spaniards unanimously declared it to be the Ultima Thule, and were amused at the idea of any one going there. The Pinares of Cuenca are proverbial expressions to signify wild and rude country. I waited on the Corregidor, who received me, as I found the Spanish authorities invariably do, with great politeness, and then proceeded with the objects of my journey. The city of the Moors occupied a narrow and precipitous ridge, with magnificent precipices on each side, forming deep

barrancos, in which the Xucar and Huecar flow, meeting at the lower part of the town. The upper part contains the cathedral and a small esplanade or *plaza*, which is the only level spot. The houses are built on the edge of precipices, with falls of many hundred feet at the back. A bold and magnificent bridge for horses, connects the back of the cathedral with a convent on the opposite side of the Huecar, which was built by an individual of the church. At the foot of the old town, an extensive suburb spreads out into the plain, which is decaying, and suffered severely in the war of independence. It contains solid and excellent edifices; but the finest, which was a palace of some noble family now resident at Murcia, was entirely ruined. The cathedral is a magazine of art of all kinds, from the best to the very worst, and will be mentioned under the various heads of architecture, sculpture, and painting.* There was a splendid collection of plate, of which some part remains; but the finest piece, which was invaluable, being the work of the Becerrils, who were natives of the place, was carried off in the war. The chapter-house, and other offices, are in a corresponding style of opulence. The see is one of the richest in Spain, and the clergy proportionably numerous. The architecture of the city is principally modern, but there are some excellent specimens of the best time, with sculpture and painting on the fronts. It was formerly the residence of the Mendozas, and many other noble families, who are extinct, or have emigrated. It has produced many eminent individuals, but has now dwindled to a place of *clerigos*, depending for its existence on the ecclesiastical bodies.

* The principal sculptors who figure in this interesting repository of art, are Berruguete and Xamete, and the works of Yañez are the most valuable paintings. Becerril, the Platero, and Arenas, a rejero, or iron gate maker, also contributed to adorn this edifice, of which the architecture is extremely curious. See also the Chapter on that head.

The ravines, through which the streams flow, that bound the city on each side, are laid out in walks and roads, and the rocks are covered with ivy. Above the town both widen out, and resemble in miniature the magnificent scenery at the foot of Mount Perdu. The vale of the Xucar, were it planted, would be equalled by few places in Europe for picturesque beauty.

At about half a league higher up, near the bed of the river, are some copious springs, called the Fuentes del Re, where it is said, Alonzo and his army encamped during the siege, when the city was captured from the Moors. The king and part of his army may have done so, but those entrusted with the active part of the operations must have been nearer the scene of action. Above this, the Xucar, a clear and noble stream, waters an open country, after it has issued from the defiles of the forest where the principal feeders are. The head streams rise to the east, on an open elevated table, the common source of it, and the Tagus and Guadalaviar, which waters the eastern part of the kingdom of Valencia. Having obtained information by questioning the people respecting the forests, I made an excursion to the Val de Cabras, where I found the principal objects of my journey; the timber that supplies Madrid. A considerable fall had lately taken place to the east.*

The territory of Cuenca, which is a high and wintry region, produced in its better days vast quantities of wool, with abundance of corn and honey. The woollen manufactures are mentioned by Cervantes, and flourished in his time. It is too cold for the olive or vine, but abundance of both oil and wine are furnished from the neighbouring districts of the Alcarria and Valencia. From the situation,

* A report of the trees which clothe this interesting district will be found under its respective head.

it is admirably calculated for a place of commerce, and may probably recover when the roads are completed; which will throw it nearly into the direct line between Valencia and Madrid. By the present mode of fortifying, of occupying heights by detached works, it might, if required, be converted into a place of war at no great expense.

Having obtained the object of my journey, I set out for Guadalaxara. There are two roads from Cuenca to Priego, a principal point of my journey; one by the Sierra, the other, which is longer, by the plain. Very fortunately for the geology, I chose the last. At a short distance, I turned out of the great Madrid road to the right, and, after passing some miserable villages in a fertile but badly cultivated country, resembling the wilder part of the Welsh borders, I came to Cañaveras, a large place in a valley of the Alcarria. The road was covered with wandering beggars and gypsies, and a party of the latter tribe were in prison, having been caught stealing a sheep and feasting upon it near the town. The distance from Cañaveras to Priego is two leagues, over an upland and partly wooded country, abounding with game. After arriving at Priego, which is beautifully situated on a commanding eminence over the little river Escobas, where it issues from the Sierra, and abounds with trout, I went to see a convent, in a wild, sequestered and truly monastic situation, in a deep gorge, amid precipices clothed with pines, called the *Desierto*. The *posada* at Priego had a good exterior; but on entering, the scene changed; the part appropriated to strangers was the anti-stable, with which it communicated, and at the farther end was the fire, the whole black and dirty in the extreme. There were two rooms above, but they declared no beds were to be had, and only by perseverance this difficulty was at last overcome. There was

no bread sold in the place, but the doctor supplied me with a loaf from his store. At night-fall the Alcalde arrived from sporting in the Sierra, with an enormous wild cat, which his dogs had killed, much to their credit, for it was a formidable animal. When it was brought to the *posada*, the whole village soon came to inspect it; I coveted the skin, which I could not ask for; but gave orders privately to my *mozo* to purchase it at any price, if it could be effected. Unfortunately, some of the company viewed it with different eyes; their stomachs began to yearn, and the question was started whether or not it could be eaten. Most were of an affirmative opinion, some were silent; only the Alcalde and myself agreed we should not like to touch it; at last a well-dressed character came in, with an air of authority, and examined it amid a general silence; he then deliberately gave his judgment, that dressed with rice it would be excellent. Various Spaniards, to whom I have related this story, pronounced immediately that he must have been a Valencian, from his partiality for this mode of cookery. This settled the matter; his decision was received with loud acclamations, and they proceeded to prepare it for the operation. All hopes of the skin being obtained in a state fit for preservation vanished. In a short time it was dissected and handed round, and the opinions of the disputants asked, whether there was any cause of objection, and whether it did not exactly resemble rabbit, its favourite food, in appearance and smell. It certainly did so, and supper was soon prepared. The Alcalde, like a true Spaniard, gave up all claim for himself, save some fragment as a remembrance of the capture. The repast took place, amidst the animation which distinguishes the people on those occasions, so different from their usual sedate manners. The banquet was confined to a chosen

few, for they excluded all who, by mewing and other antics, had thrown ridicule on the proceeding. After keeping it up very late, and drinking quantities of wine, they sallied out, to "finish," at the *aguardienteria*, a place where brandy is sold. Here they became so noisy, that the Alcalde, whose liberality in his private capacity was the cause of the uproar, found it necessary to interfere in his official one, and he ordered the whole party to be put in prison, where they remained when I left the place. During the excitement of this scene, which is exactly of the description of those which are transferred to the stage, and form their inimitable *Sainetes*, not the slightest breach of manners or respect to themselves or to each other took place, so different from the practice of the corresponding classes in most parts of Europe. The *posadero*, under whose roof it took place, was a boor; his wife exactly the reverse. She was a young woman of eighteen, who had been married very early, and had two children. Her form was so light and elegant, that it would have been remarked any where. Her skin, excepting her hands, was white as snow, her eyes and hair black, her mouth small and beautiful, and her features as like the Grecian form as are generally seen. In the plainest attire, she presided in this strange scene, alternately answering the call of the guests, attending to her culinary duties, and awing the child in her arms, which was of a wayward temper, to submission, and then with the tenderest caresses feeding it from her mouth in the manner of birds, and occasionally finding a moment for conversation, which she did with the ease and incomparable grace of the country. She was a native of a neighbouring village. I could not ascertain her parentage, but her appearance was Valencian, and in every thing very different from the rustic beauties of the place of her residence. As her husband was among the delinquents, she sat up very

late, anxiously waiting for his return in the chimney corner, with her back to the wall, and her two children grouped in her arms like a figure of Charity ; and at early dawn she was stirring to enable us to depart.

Priego, where this scene was exhibited, is a complete epitome of the country. The situation is beautiful and the climate excellent. Although at the foot of the Sierra, the garden produce is the earliest in the district. The wine is of the best quality, and was selling at five *reals*, about one shilling, the *arroba* of twenty-five pounds. Observing that our consumption was very great, I enquired the reason, and the *mozo* informed me he was in the habit of bathing the mule's shoulders with it, to refresh them in the evening. Corn was equally cheap, yet the poor people were starving, and only for the generosity of a public functionary in the place, many of them would have died from want in the preceding winter. Every thing is in keeping. There is a ruined feudal castle ; a *plaza* and regular buildings had been commenced, but left unfinished. The *posada* had a regular elevation of good architecture ; leaving an open attic, as usual in Valencia, the roof being supported by Caryatides of decent sculpture. The original church had been Gothic, and a Tudor arch, which is rare in Spain, forming the entrance, remains. A sumptuous edifice was intended to replace it, of which a part only was finished. It might be supposed to be designed by Brunelleschi, so exactly is it a transcript of his works at Florence. The *campanario*, or belfry, is rustic, in the manner of the Pitti palace ; the aisles of the style of Santo Spirito. The architect's name, which is not recorded in the long list of his profession in the work of Cean Bermudez, is Miguel Lopez.

The ground in the neighbourhood was covered with the dwarf yellow jasmine, and many beautiful and interest-

ing plants. We feasted on excellent mutton, which was found in every place, and varied the uniformity of Spanish travelling diet. Provisions being abundant, our consumption was proportionably great; for my *mozo* made a practice of distributing largely, at the close of each repast, to the bystanders, who were always willing to partake, but never asked for any thing. The sheep are a small and light race, quite unlike the merinos, and more resemble the improved Cheviot breed.

In about an hour from leaving Priego, I arrived at the banks of the Guadiela, one of the innumerable Moorish compounds relating to some quality characteristic of the stream or valley. It is the western arm of the Tagus, and nearly equal to the other in magnitude. Its colour was a sea green, like the Tessino, as it descends from the St. Gothard, and finely contrasted with the dark red of the sand-stone in which the bed is deeply excavated. After coasting it for some distance, we passed a solid bridge, with a mill attached to it, and by a parallel direction, but at a greater distance, descended, by the other bank, through a similar country.

Alcocer, which is the principal place on this road, is a large and substantial village, with good buildings, but is hastening to decay. After this, the country altered in character; deep and precipitous vallies are worn in the marle, and resemble, on a much larger scale, the hilly parts of Devonshire. I dined at Sacedon, a miserable place in a picturesque valley, bounded by lofty mountains, at a league distance from the baths, where there is a royal colony, founded lately at a great expense. A good road has been made to it, and it was occasionally visited by the king. A number of gypsies were encamped outside the town. They had been refused quarters at the *posada*, when the curious question arose, to occupy the *escribanos*, whether such refusal was legal, and whether the *posadero* was not

obliged to receive all wayfaring persons who might claim his assistance. Whether, in fact, in a country where the idea prevails, that every man's house is his castle, this functionary* was to be the exception, and his residence considered on the footing of a *caravansera*, or as a public resort, where all had the right of entry, as the mules to drink in the public *plaza*? This question embraced so many points, and opened so vast a field for reply and rejoinder, that there was no chance of a speedy decision. The *Alcalde*, however, determined, that without entering into the knotty question as to the right of occupation of the *posada*, he had a clear right to interdict their entry into the town, and they were accordingly forced to remain outside. They were accused of pilfering and other idle habits, exactly as in England and elsewhere. Whence the excessive sensibility of the landlord proceeded, I could not imagine. He at least might have slept in security, for the sharpest eye of a gypsy would have been puzzled to find any thing in his establishment worth carrying off. They were magnificent men, almost black, with good features, and extremely clean in their persons. Their linen was white as snow, contrasting with the Ethiopian hue of their skins. Whatever may have been the foundation of the prejudice against them, they were very superior to the miserable race which inhabits these villages, whom, if mere physical power were concerned, they could easily have dispossessed of their residences. We were told a story of another party, who had recently stolen some asses in La Mancha. The people had traced them, and as justice was difficult to procure in such cases, they had taken the law into their own hands, and executed summary vengeance on them. The number of vagabonds, who were scattered over the country, was

* The *posada* is often a kind of official appointment by the *ayuntamiento*.

increased by a late order at Madrid, expelling all who were not well lodged and were unemployed, from apprehension of the cholera.

The road to Guadalaxara enters a deep *barranco* in the pine-clad range which bounds this valley, whence you emerge on a romantic pass, through which the Tagus winds its way. Below is a most picturesque defile, with pines covering the rocks. We crossed by a bridge, and, traversing a country of deep ravines, and abrupt ascents, reached an extensive table covered with oak, of which the copse only remains. At the termination of this is a deep valley, with a convent, in a beautiful situation at the entrance of it. Below is Tendilla, a decaying place, with the remains of better days. The feudal castle is in ruins on a height above, the possessor of which figures in the history of the last wars of Granada. In the evening a respectable man, of the class of *labradores*, or yeomanry, arrived from the borders of Estremadura, with his son, a boy whom he was going to place with the Franciscan monks of the convent. The building is of great extent, but they were reduced to the number of twelve.

From this to Guadalaxara the country is beautiful, but in a state of the greatest neglect. In the town there is nothing worthy of notice, excepting the splendid palace of the Duke of Infantado, an enormous building, which it is inconceivable they should have found an architect in the sixteenth century to execute in such bad taste. It is neither Moorish, nor Gothic, nor classic, but an attempt at a compound of all three. The great *patio* is magnificent, and two galleries to the garden truly regal. The principal facade is in bad taste, a sort of bastard Gothic, but is of imposing dimensions. The *patio* is disfigured by execrable sculpture, the shafts of the columns of the upper gallery to the

garden are oval. The inside is equally bad in arrangement, ample space frittered and lost without comfort or splendour. To complete the mismanagement, it is so placed, that there are no grounds or garden, excepting a small spot like those in the middle of cities. The royal manufactory of cloth, now abandoned,* is built quite under the windows, which would command a noble view of the plain, and distant mountains, with the Henares below. The Pantheon of the family, which is at the convent of St. Francisco, is in much better taste, and appears to have been built in imitation of that of the Escorial. It is an oval shaped room of most correct design, to which you descend by a staircase lined with the finest marbles. In niches were placed beautiful sarcophagi of the same material, intended to receive the bones of the individuals which were placed in the first instance in a cemetery above. When the French vacated the place, it was found that the bones had been taken out, and strewn over the floor, and nearly every sarcophagus was broken, or injured, a work of considerable labour to the perpetrators of this mischief. The original intention cannot now be fulfilled, but the mingled bones were gathered together and placed again in some of the niches, with an inscription to commemorate the cause. In this ancient town are some buildings of Moorish design, but they appeared to be rebuilt on the original designs, and I saw none of which I was satisfied of the originality.

Below the town flows the Henares, a noble stream; one of the tributaries of the Tagus, with an extensive bridge, originally Roman, of which three small arches remain. The rest is a mixture of successive repairs, Moorish and

* This is an immense, untenanted, suite of buildings, which, when the French entered, employed 24,000 people.

modern. The plain is of surpassing fertility, being a rich loam, and is one of the granaries of the capital, but without a tree or object to break the view.

Lower down on the river, at four leagues distance, is Alcala de Henares, another crumbling remain of ancient celebrity, now fast hastening to decay. It has an university, and a military college, and boasts of being the birth-place of Cervantes.

The archbishop's palace is an old edifice, with a splendid inner *patio*, by Berruguete.* After crossing the Jarama, the rich loam which forms the beautiful plain of Guadaxara is succeeded by the unproductive soil characterising the dreary radius of Madrid.

* See that artist under the head of Sculpture.

CHAPTER VI.

Madrid to Zaragoza and Pamplona, Northern or Free Provinces.

I WENT from Madrid to Zaragoza in an excellent diligence, by the new road, which occupies two days and a half. The first night we slept at Guadalaxara, and at an early hour proceeded to Ariza, the next day arriving in the capital of Aragon.

The road from Guadalaxara is entirely new, and when finished, which it is on the point of being, will leave nothing to desire. It is narrower than most of the royal roads, and more resembles those in England. The first day's journey beyond Guadalaxara was chiefly through *despoblados*, or uninhabited country, but after crossing the division of the waters of the Tagus and the Ebro it improved. The vale of the Xalon, which flows to the latter river, is well cultivated, the stream being extensively used for irrigation. It is a northern region, producing hemp, barley, and pulse of various kinds. Walnut and cherry trees are mixed with the vines.

Alhama de Aragon, so called to distinguish it from Alhama de Granada, is a small place, with convenience for the resort of strangers during the season of the baths. It occupies a narrow gorge in an interesting country. Calatayud, a Moorish look-out or beacon-place, with a strong castle, now in ruins, is the principal place in this valley.

It is a wealthy and important town, in a highly cultivated plain, with the Aragonese character of narrow streets, good fronts to the houses, bold roofs, the rafters projecting, and often highly ornamented. Beyond this we left the cultivated country of the Xalon, and crossing a dreary tract of mountain, descended to the plain of the Ebro, through white chalky soil. Not a tree or scarcely a trace of vegetation is seen until you reach the borders of the canal, when, owing to the irrigation, all is verdure and fertility.

I entered Zaragoza by the Puerto de Santa Engracia, celebrated in the history of modern times, being the point by which the French entered the city in 1809. We passed between the ruins of the churches of St. Francisco and Santa Engracia, neither of which have been rebuilt, and the sites, as well as those of most of the houses are occupied by a *plaza* and *paseo*. The object of the besiegers was to obtain access to the *Coso*, a wide street, the principal in the city, which sweeps round the outside circumference of the town on the land side, connecting the market-place and the Ebro. The open space referred to was the barrier, and it was only by a demolition almost complete of the buildings, that the object was attained. The chief means employed was to drive mines through the lower parts of the houses, which were then blown up or rendered untenable. On both sides of the *Coso* the houses exhibit the marks of the round and grape-shot, where they seem preserved as relics. Many of those on the inside have been rebuilt. On the outside *manzana*, these shot marks prove that the houses were still obstinately defended after the enemy had penetrated inside them. The destruction in the city was very great, but there are less remains of it than might be expected, owing to the vast solidity of the houses. In the interior it is a Moorish town, and presents a vast and solid mass, which could only have been destroyed by great

trouble and prodigious expense. The two cathedrals are fortunately on the opposite side, near the Ebro, and escaped without serious injury; but the Sala de Diputacion, a Gothic building of great antiquity, and interest in Spanish art, which stood between them, was destroyed. The defence of this place, like too many of the operations during the dreadful war of independence, furnishes a striking contrast of disinterested patriotism and heroic courage on the part of the people, with the incapacity and imbecility of those who commanded them. It was determined to defend a place, untenable by the rules of war. The military commandant was made subservient to a man, who was totally ignorant of every thing relating to war, and took scarcely any part in the proceedings. A large army was shut up and sacrificed, and incalculable and irreparable destruction of life and property incurred, without the slightest advantage resulting to the common cause. Amongst the garrison were cooped up two thousand cavalry, the horses of which were obliged to be shot in a few days for want of forage! The place was taken, with comparatively very little loss to the enemy, by a force inferior to that shut up inside. To the honour of the French officers, the capture of this place was not attended by the excesses so common on other occasions; but the usual customs of civilized nations appear to have been attended to.

There are two cathedrals, of which the architecture will be more particularly described in its place. They are just the converse of each other; the Seu is dark and solemn, the Pilar light and cheerful, like a theatre. The Seu contains some very interesting sculpture and painting, but I suspect there are errors in transcribing the names either of the authors of these works or of the chapels, in the books. The principal sculptors who figure in the cathedrals are Becerra, the two Morlanes, Obray, Forment, Tu-

desilla, and some others. A small church at the *Manteria* is painted by Coello and Muñoz. The end of the church of Santa Engracia, with some valuable and interesting sculpture by the Morlanes, has by a miracle been preserved.*

This place is on the decline, like all the provincial capitals, many of the old families having gone to hide their poverty at Madrid, and many magnificent houses are let out in tenements. Their residences are on a scale not exceeded any where in Spain, combining solidity and splendour with taste. The cornices of many are of great chasteness and beauty of design. Provisions of all sorts, corn, wine, oil, mutton, game, and vegetables, are cheap, abundant, and excellent. It is probably the best country for living, in Spain. I found the people civil and polished, as in all the old cities through the country. The lower classes have, however, a bad reputation, and assassinations are said to be common. The peasants of the environs wear a Moorish costume, like those of Valencia. Some specimens of them came whilst I was examining the *alhajas*, or ornaments of the shrine of the Virgin of the Pilar, who were ruder and more ferocious looking than any peasantry which came under my observation in the Peninsula. Notwithstanding the pressure of times wholly unexampled, they presented small offerings of money. The priest received these gifts, treating them with a coolness bordering on rudeness, very unusual in Spain, but certainly suited to their appearance, and they seemed to receive it with perfect indifference. This is one of the races of Spanish Moors mentioned by Cervantes as distinguished in his time by those of Africa, and to which they gave different names. He does not give any characteristic distinction, but at present they certainly appear to

* See these artists under their respective heads.

be the lowest of the whole. Amongst the *alhajas*, of the shrine, are some splendid diamond ornaments of great value, recently presented by a queen of Spain, I think Maria Luisa, the wife of Charles the Fourth. The value would have been much better expended on the unfortunate sufferers of the place, and it were very much to be desired in the regeneration of Spain, some power greater than the corporate jurisdiction of the church should be found to convert property sunk in this absurd manner, to public use.

From Zaragoza I took the route of Navarre, with the intention of seeing the feast of St. Firmin, the patron of that kingdom, which is celebrated with great pomp at Pamplona, in the beginning of July. The road is not yet completed so as to permit a diligence, and to near Tudela the communication is by the canal. The boat is tolerably comfortable, and is drawn by relays of mules, which go at full trot, the drivers keeping up the whole way by running at their side. We dined at Galla, a village by the side of the canal. The landlady had a round face, and resembled a Dutch woman in appearance. She gave us an excellent repast, with delicious eels and tench from the Ebro, of which the lampreys are also celebrated. The company consisted chiefly of merchants going to the fair. There were two monks, one an elderly, grave personage of some rank, the other a young, vigorous and active man, full of life and sociability, a complete descendant of Friar Tuck. As far as circumstances allowed him, he was the life of the company. He had been in America, where probably the voyage had given him these habits. There was also a respectable *cura*, or parish priest. After dinner, the monks gave the benediction, as practised in the refectory, a ceremony which was listened to with a seriousness very unusual in such an assembly. The only

person who endangered the gravity of the scene, was the *cura*, who looked around during the operation in a manner evidently intended to ridicule their performance, which was sufficiently ludicrous, and to show the contemptuous disdain and dislike the lay clergy frequently have for the monks. Amongst the party were an infirm gentleman and his sister, who were going to some baths near Tudela, in the vain hope of improving an apparently hopeless case. They were elderly people, both unmarried, of that ancient class of society, now rapidly disappearing in Spain, with the innate, unaffected nobleness of demeanour, which only nature can confer, and which no change can take away. We soon became acquainted, and the lady related to me their history with the simplicity and delicacy characteristic of real Spanish manners. They had been ruined by the destruction of the family-house, which stood in the unfortunate suburb of Sa. Engracia, and the brother had an employment in some public office, to which almost total blindness now incapacitated him from attending. They were accompanied by a female servant, who had a most perfect Moorish face, with shining eyes, dark hair, a slight tinge of copper in her complexion, and a peculiar sonorous and plaintive voice. She was as perfect a *Mora* as could have been sold at Malaga at the conquest, whence it is not the least improbable her ancestors came. Their kindness and attention to the feeble and helpless man was unremitting; they led him about, and performed every office he required, with the most tender and constant solicitude. The Moor told me they were half *facultativos*, or surgeons, from the number of operations they had performed, doing every thing themselves. The attendant had lived with them from her childhood, and, as is usual in the country, was on a footing of perfect equality, which never altered her attention, or caused her to forget her situation. The mis-

tress was a very well-informed person, the maid not less so, having read various translations, amongst others Tom Jones, which seemed to be her favourite work. She preferred the English literature to the French, as she said it appeared to her more solid; but she observed, it was singular no foreign nation had produced a work like Don Quixote.

There is hardly any traffic on the canal, of which the great utility at present is the irrigation, which is carried on upon a large scale. The country is denuded in every direction; but towards the Bocal, where the water is taken from the Ebro, it improves, and is well wooded. It is throughout of disproportionate dimensions, being nearly double the width required, with an inclination which appeared to me unnecessary. The money expended would have completed it, with more frugal management. At present they have altered the plan, and fixed a point of the Ebro higher up than the original design of its junction with the river. They are working to complete it; but the progress is nearly imperceptible, from the smallness of the funds allotted to it. We landed at the Bocal, near the sluice, and proceeded by coach to Tudela, which is on the river, with a bridge. From this circumstance, and its commanding the entrance of the canal, it is of great importance as a military station, and one of the greatest battles of the early operations of Napoleon was fought in the environs. To Pamplona, the country is dreary and uninteresting in the highest degree. We entered the capital of Navarre after the fair had commenced, and I had great difficulty in obtaining a room for myself, the practice being for three or four people to occupy the same apartment, which entire strangers to each other do without scruple. In the principal inn, they offered me a tenement, in common with a monk and a priest, the only accommodation left. It was Sunday, and no regular bull-

fight is allowed ; but by the Spanish canons, *novillos*, or two year olds, with the horns *embolados*, or tipped, may be introduced for the use of amateurs, and they permit two old bulls to be killed. The next day, the regular sports commenced. There is no amphitheatre, or *plaza de toros*, but the great square of the city is converted to the purpose. It is an oblong, open at one side ; scaffolds are placed all round, and enclose a kind of egg-shaped space, of inconvenient length. The houses which face the square are built purposely with the fronts almost entirely of windows. As these feasts are considered a public object, the *ayuntamiento* have a reserved right on every balcony, which are then let out to parties, and the proceeds applied to defray the expense of the festival. Nearly the whole of the upper classes are thus accommodated, the scaffolds being occupied principally by the lower orders. The sight was beautiful, every window being crowded by *mantillas* ; not a foreign costume, save that of the Vice-Queen, being visible. The people were extremely animated, and a chorus of female voices was heard above all the rest when a feat of bull or *torero* called forth applause.

After the preliminary operations are gone through, the carriages of the *ayuntamiento* enter in procession, preceded and followed by bands of music, with attendants in red hose and blue vests, the ancient uniform of Navarre. The *alguazil mayor*, in old Spanish costume, with a posse of others on horseback, followed, and a troop of cavalry brought up the rear. The stocks, like the old parish instruments in England, were then carried in procession, to show that the civil power was paramount, and was ready to repress disorder. The *toreros* next appeared, followed by the *molineros*, or millers, of the place, who have the privilege of killing a bull on each day. They were dressed in white frocks and trowsers, with bandanas on their heads,

each with a long lance pointed with sharp iron. They were accompanied by two *aficionados*, or amateur *pica-dores*, on horseback. Notice was sent in form to the Viceroy, as he is termed here, although the government only style him Captain General, to announce that all was ready, but they proceeded without waiting, and he came late. The sport was indifferent the first day. At the close a fray took place between a sentinel on duty and some people of a *barrio*, or quarter well known for their disorderly habits. They disarmed the soldier, but were soon overpowered, and order restored, two or three of them being wounded. The people, who were unaccustomed to these occurrences, became alarmed and panic-struck; a rush took place, threatening a general tumult. I was apprehensive of the scaffold giving way, but with the assistance of a few people who retained their recollection, the crowd was stayed and order restored. The place was then cleared, large detachments of the military having been sent for. This little disturbance was caused by the jealousy of the people at the introduction of the soldiers, who were young and unsteady, and were posted in an unusual manner on the benches in the midst of the populace. Had the civil authorities been left to decide the question, in all probability the troops would have been doubled, or the spectacles put a stop to. The Viceroy, however, with the tact and firmness of a military man, took a different course. He refused to allow the soldiers to enter the *plaza* the next day, answering that he would take care the people should commit no excess. Ample force was accordingly kept in readiness, in case of tumult, but it passed off without the slightest occasion for their services. At the conclusion of the spectacle the last bull was turned out *embolado*. The millers formed in line, and when he had been piked by the amateurs, they received him on their poles. After some ineffectual at-

tempts to break the line, an accidental thrust touched the spine, or some mortal part; the animal fell, and was dragged out like his predecessors. This sport, I believe, is peculiar to the place, and would be impracticable with any of the larger breeds of bulls. Those of Navarre are very small, like the kyloe kind, but their legs are longer, and they are extremely clean made, and very active, bounding over the barriers without effort, like the chamois or ibex.

Montes, the *élève* of the new college of Seville, and the best bull-fighter now in Spain, was present, and excited great applause by his feats of skill. One, which he frequently repeated, was the leaping over the horns of the animal as its head was lowered to transfix him. Another, still more difficult, was, of calling the bull from some distance. When the animal was running directly at him with full speed, placing a small pole on the ground, just before its head, he leapt into the air, and allowing it to pass underneath, dropt down behind the tail. This feat requires the greatest coolness and power of calculation of distance, and it is indispensable the bull should run true, or with a straight and steady pace. The whole of the *toreros* came from Madrid, and those who were able to travel, set out the instant the fights were over, for Valencia, where they were engaged for another exhibition. All the *picadores* were wounded; one only, who was scarcely able to move, and was confined some weeks at Vittoria, remained to finish the last day's work. One of them, who was in the most imminent danger, was saved entirely by the presence of mind of Montes. He was on the ground, and the bull proceeding to gore him, when Montes, with the quickness of lightning, seized his leaping-pole, and giving the animal a violent blow behind, turned his attention to another quarter. At the close of the day, he was carried round the *plaza* on the shoulders of the mob, a rude and boisterous

ceremony, quite unlike the manners of the Andalusians, which he did not at all seem to relish.

The church is a neat Gothic edifice, with a modern front which does not correspond, although of good design in itself. They talked of disfiguring the choir in the same manner, which will then be quite incongruous with every thing around it. The *silleria* will be mentioned under the head of the author, Ancheta. It is of English oak, imported for the purpose. The Viceroy inhabits the palace of the kings of Navarre, which is an irregular and old-fashioned building, with some modern rooms. There are no objects of art in the other churches, besides the cathedral, but I fortunately arrived in time to see one of the most valuable paintings of Carreño, which is mentioned under his name.

The kingdom of Navarre is still governed by its separate laws and constitution, and enjoys some liberty of commerce. The government of Castile has, however, been unfortunately enabled to get possession of the tobacco trade, which has been placed on the same footing, and which makes it one of the curses of Spain. The country is accordingly full of spies and informers, and every day vexatious inquiries are complained of. A registry of the names of all who smoked was mentioned as being in contemplation.

During my stay, the Captain General was obliged to set out for the French frontier, to quell a foray, or border raid, which are constantly occurring. This arose from the arrest by the Spanish authorities of some men who had planted a small quantity of tobacco on the extreme frontier. The policy of the two countries is nearly alike in this. As the soil could not belong to both, the Spanish troops claimed it, and destroyed the plantation, arresting the men and conducting them to Pamplona. The French national guard immediately armed themselves, and made an inroad, arresting some Spanish peasants as hostages, and threatening to

pillage the monastery of Roncesvalles. The Captain General, however, in the mean time had ordered the release of the prisoners, on their arrival at Pamplona, and the affair ended.

The people are more than usual under the influence of the clergy, who in a small and poor kingdom are proportionably numerous. They form one of the varieties of the old Spanish character, and were found untameable in their opposition to the French, during the war; their proximity and daily intercourse having had no effect in softening their animosity to the yoke of Napoleon.

The fair, which is one of the most considerable in the kingdom, brought samples of the population from all parts. There was little business done, the commerce, as in every other part, being in a perfect state of stagnation.

The fortress of Pamplona, which possesses such interest to the military reader, might disappoint many who had heard the character it usually bears. The side of the river is inaccessible; that on the right, in facing the country, is strong; but the left and front, where the citadel is placed, in the manner of that of Mentz, is on the level of an extensive plateau, with ample means for a regular investment. Some plan has been proposed for extending the works, but at present it is out of the question. It is owing to other reasons than the impracticability of it, that it has not been regularly taken in modern times. The works are kept up, but there are scarcely any cannon, and only field-pieces were mounted in a few of the flanks and bastions. I was told some brass guns, the last that remained, had been sent to the mint to be converted to other purposes.

I travelled from Pamplona to Vittoria on horseback. The road was not yet completed for carriages, although far advanced. This communication will establish an unin-

interrupted line between Bilboa and Barcelona. At present, wheel carriages are obliged to pass by Tolosa.

Vittoria is recovering from the effects of the war, and is a thriving and improving place. The *plaza*, or public square, which is one of the neatest in Europe, is a quadrangle of about two hundred feet square, with colonnades round the lower part, and shops opening into it, above which are private residences. The area serves for the public market, and occasionally as the *plaza de toros*. It is inconceivable that a plan, combining elegance, neatness, and utility, with economy of space, should not be more generally adopted. It is quite of modern construction, the work of a native of the country, who has not been enrolled in the place he merits amongst the architects of Spain.

The three provinces of Alava, Guipuscoa, and Biscay, form a government nominally subject to the crown of Spain; but by their laws and internal regulations, are as free and independent as any canton in Switzerland. They pay no direct taxes, but furnish a certain sum annually, which is raised by themselves. Their contingent of troops, when required, is supplied independently, in the manner of the Hungarian levies. Every office is elective by the people. The general executive power is vested in an officer chosen by the respective deputies of districts, and is called *deputado*, corresponding with the *landamman* of some of the Swiss cantons. There are no custom-houses, and no *derecho de puertas*, or *octroi*, and no restriction on trade, save the articles which are prohibited to the whole monarchy, which can be seized at sea or on the coasts. The Ebro, which during part of its course is the boundary to Old Castile, separates the seat of the purest obedience of high monarchy, from a territory of republicans, where fifty thousand men are armed ready to turn out in an instant to fight the troops of their sove-

reign, should any attempt be made by the Castilians on their *fueros*, or privileges. The government have only the troops necessary to guard the forts and frontiers, which, as far as the country is concerned, are on exactly the same footing as in England, and have only the pure military duty to perform. The law cases are decided by the *alcaldes* of towns, who are named by the people out of the aristocracy, with an appeal to the *deputado*, and a final recurrence to the chancery of Valladolid.

The manners and habits of the people are naturally tinged by these laws and customs. They are cheerful and industrious, and the country is perfectly cultivated. The upper ranks exactly resemble what we consider the old English character, being sedate and of plain and solid minds. The lower orders are trustworthy and honest in the highest degree. In no part of Europe are they excelled in industry. The women carry the heaviest burdens, and pass from one species of labour to another, with a quickness and cheerfulness, which cannot be surpassed. They are a comely and beautiful race, and have always been celebrated for their morality. I was shown a country-house, where, during the operations of the British army, previous to the invasion of France, the military chest was deposited for some days. It was a considerable distance from the head-quarters, and only guarded by four sentinels. The whole country was armed *en masse*, and the surprising and capturing it was a very easy matter to people who were in the daily habit of such enterprises, but it remained unmolested. My informant added, that if such a case happened now, the result would be very different; alluding to the alterations circumstances had made in the habits of the people. However that may be, crimes are still rare amongst them, and neither thieves nor robbers are to be found in the country. By the law of these provinces, trade

is absolutely free in the interior; but a strict blockade is kept on the coast by *guarda costas*, and tobacco, for instance, which is a prohibited article, is taken, and the vessel condemned as elsewhere; once landed, it is free, and the government have no power over it. The same is the case with many manufactured articles. The growth of tobacco, in the smallest quantity, in a soil perfectly suited to it, is punishable by *presidio*, or galleys. The ports are *inabilitados*, or prevented, from trading directly with the colonies, and colonial articles must be brought coastwise from the privileged places. The whole produce of their commerce or manufactures is subject to the same duty, in most instances amounting to prohibition, as that from foreign countries, on passing the frontier into the interior.

The abstraction of these *fueros*, or privileges, has long been a favourite scheme of the Castilians, and every plan of force, fraud, bribery, persuasion, and intimidation, has been tried in vain to induce the renunciation of them. They are still working, and it is understood some plan was arranged with the late government of France, just before its fall, with a view to the introduction of troops, for the purpose of establishing custom-houses on the frontier. At present, it is impossible, as many of the people openly told me, they would, in such a case, call in the aid of the French to repel the attempt. It is only by incessant vigilance, and by the sacrifice of large sums, in law-suits and bribery at Madrid, that they are able to remain unmolested. Some individuals were inclined to admit, that they might be better without the *fueros*, with free access to the interior, but they are in very small number, and it is clear such an arrangement would completely ruin the country. The stagnation of trade proceeded from the same sources, and was infinitely more felt in the interior, which could afford them no assistance; and it is much more probable that under the

same laws, these beautiful provinces would be assimilated to the appearance of the Castiles, than that they would be the gainers by such an union of industry and activity, with torpidity, poverty, and decay.

The principal ports are Bilboa and St. Sebastian; the former is much the most important, and the entrepot for wool, which is brought from Castile, and even from Estremadura, besides corn, fruit, and other articles. The foreign trade of Bilboa is almost entirely in the hands of the English. The usages are purely republican, all the effective power being in the hands of the lower classes. The genius of the place is a convent of Franciscans, who inhabit a huge barrack, with a noble church, which overhangs the city, to the number of no less than ninety-five. They recruit from the lower ranks of the people, and are mixed up with, and said to direct every thing. Here is an exception to the general rules in such cases, for the community is the most moral, and one of the most industrious in Europe, and it affords the curious and perhaps unique spectacle, of a large and opulent place, and a seaport, where little or no vice amongst the women is to be found.*

St. Sebastian is the other chief sea-port; but there is very little commerce, which is entirely in the hands of the French, being apparently too inconsiderable to be worth the attention of the British merchant. Every thing, even to the wood in building, is brought from the French coast. The bay is a bad one, but there is a small mole, and a league distant is the secure and excellent harbour of Passages.† This place is celebrated for the bloody scene of its assault

* See the concluding Chapter on recent changes.

† The new government have made St. Sebastian a *puerto abilitado*, or given the privilege of importing colonial produce direct from America, which may, it is to be hoped, give a little stimulus to the trade. There is a considerable manufacture of chocolate, and of cigars.

in 1813, when it was taken in mid-day, under circumstances which will for ever do the highest honour to the courage of those engaged in it. But a melancholy fate awaited the inhabitants: the town, with a trifling exception, being burnt to the ground. The people are unanimous in declaring that it was fired purposely, some time after the capture, whilst in quiet possession of the British and Portuguese army. In consequence of this disaster, the population of the place is reduced to six thousand, which is about one half its former number. It is partly rebuilt, on a regular plan, but the houses are inferior to their former construction. Whatever be the truth, this sad lot could have fallen on no community, whom those who know them could more seriously regret their having met with such a calamity. They are a kind, frank, hospitable, industrious and open hearted people; no trace of prejudice is to be found amongst them, and only by inquiry could it be made out that such an event had taken place. Notwithstanding the unanimity of the people, numbers of whom I questioned, it seems incredible that an act so flagitious, so unlike the customs of war, and with so little apparent object, or utility, should have been perpetrated. It is very much to be regretted, since it certainly did happen whilst the place was in our possession, as these disasters in war are sometimes unavoidable, that the only remedy in our power, the repayment of the sufferers, had not been effected, either by subscription, or by public grants, of which we were so lavish at the time to those who had far inferior claims upon us. I was informed nothing had ever been given by the Spanish government, but a visit to it was made by the king a few months before. A funeral ceremony is annually performed in honour of the victims of the siege, for which preparations were making in the cathedral, when I left the place.

The fortress is kept in repair, but has scarcely any guns

mounted, nearly the whole being carried away by the French in 1823, with the exception of some English iron ones left there in 1813, and a very few others. As it is a league from the great road, and is only capable of holding a small garrison, as well as from its local situation being very easy to block, it is of comparatively little value as a fortress. The part of the works destroyed in 1813, was rebuilt in the time of the constitution, and to add to the misfortunes to the town, the ground which was occupied as a temporary work, is still held by government, and no recompense has been made to the owners. It forms an inner rampart, which is of no use, as it is highly improbable it will ever again be attacked on that side. It is well known, that after the breach was reported practicable, the British and Portuguese troops passed the river at its outlet to proceed to the storm, and the tide was so strong, that every wounded man was swept away, and perished. The people told me that the loss was greater from the ardour of the troops, who entered the water before the tide had sufficiently fallen. The rapidity is extreme, as a large body of water flows up with the flood, and, in addition to that of the river, is delivered by the ebb through a narrow outlet, with proportionate velocity. When the French intended to besiege it in form in 1823, I have heard the plan was, to attack it on the other front, which is more accessible, but is much more fortified, having been always looked on as the probable point of attack. It would be rendered of still less use, if a plan, which has been determined on by the Spanish government, be carried into execution, which their financial means will, for the present at least, render difficult, the construction of a fortress of the first rank, in a position which has been surveyed and reported fit for the purpose, between Irun and Oyarzun, close to the frontier,

and completely commanding the approach from France.* The dialect of Vascuense or Basque, spoken here, is one of three distinguished by the natives, and is considered the most pure and graceful of the whole. Music is much cultivated amongst the upper classes, and some concerts, given whilst I was there, produced excellent amateur performers. St. Sebastian is now resorted to in the summer for sea-bathing, on the beautiful sands of the bay. Many people come for this purpose from Madrid, and the freshness of the air, with the verdure, clothing hill and dale, and the industry of the people, form a curious contrast with the sultry climate of the capital of Castile.

The Indian corn or maize is of most extensive cultivation. The *cerealia* are produced in much greater proportion of late years, but the population is very dense, approaching that of the most thickly inhabited countries in Europe, and presses heavily on the means of subsistence. A plan is in agitation, of altering the course of the river, which appeared practicable at a small expense, by cutting through an isthmus, which would deliver a large tract of valuable land to cultivation; but the political circumstances of the times give a check to all enterprise.

In these provinces the primitive custom of making offerings to the church is kept up. The women go on the mornings of Sundays and the feast days, veiled with a wax taper and a loaf, which are deposited on small carpets or cloths on the floor of the church, and taken by the priests, at the time of *misa mayor* or principal mass. The convents are not numerous, but the secular clergy are proportionably so. They live, however, on good terms with the people, and in the constant habits of intimacy and in-

* See concluding Chapter, on recent changes.

terchange of good offices, and are quite amalgamated with them. Most of the benefices appear to be, like nearly every office, elective, in the hands of the people at large. In the small town of Tolosa, are no less than fifteen *curas*, or persons holding the rank of rector or vicar, attached to one church, and its dependent chapel, yet no complaint was made of the apparent superabundance. Passages is rather more than a league from St. Sebastian, but the indentures of the harbours make the land distance much shorter. It afforded shelter to the numerous train of the army in 1813 and 1814. It is too near the frontier to be of much use to Spain, but they say a plan was determined on by the government of Napoleon, to make it a port of war. The entrance is narrow, and was a serious inconvenience before the use of steam. Inside it opens out into a beautiful harbour, smaller, but in the style of Cork. It is the favourite promenade from St. Sebastian. An establishment of Jesuits, after their expulsion from France, fixed their residence at Passages, by a singular coincidence, a few miles only from the sumptuous foundation of their chief, St. Ignacio, which is now almost a ruin, having only the necessary attendants to perform the ceremonies in the magnificent church. These fathers have a few houses in a beautiful situation at Passages, which they have found the means to buy, and convert into a seminary. They receive strangers with the politeness which rarely quits any rank of Frenchmen, and are liberal in showing their establishment. The portraits of the family, whose attachment to their order cost them so dear, are naturally the principal, and almost the only ornaments. They have a few pupils, French and Spanish, and there was one youth lately arrived from Ireland, who was ignorant of any language but his own, and was employed in learning French, to qualify him

to understand the lectures of his preceptors, which had not been thought of previous to his being sent there. The prejudice against the doctrines of these people is so strong in Spain, that only the difficulty of obtaining a decent education could have enabled them to procure support. The elders seem to affect an ascetic, sorrowful, and melancholy mien, more like the manner of Trappists than those which may be supposed to have characterised the order in its better days.

CHAPTER VII.

Seville, and Cadiz, Estremadura, Valencia, and Catalonia.

SEVILLE is on the whole the nearest specimen of a large city as they were in the time of the Moors, from whom the architecture, buildings, streets, and mode of living have been transmitted with the least change or variation. The extent is very large, the houses often occupying open spaces, with many courts, or *patios*, and small gardens, in the oriental manner, are seen in great numbers within the walls. The opulence introduced by the first trade with America, having centered in this city, it became, in some sort, the Florence of Spain, and the greatest protectress of art in the whole Peninsula. To this opulence we owe the transmission of much of the luxury and comforts of the former possessors, who far excelled the Christians of that time in the *savoir-vivre*, although many improvements have since been added to their mode of living. The better houses are invariably divided into two parts, the upper and lower; the higher story is occupied in winter, the lower part during the heat of summer, when the *patios* are covered by an awning, which is drawn back at sunset, and spread in the morning. The sleeping rooms are arranged around these courts, in the oriental manner, and the temperature, night and day, is kept at a comparatively moderate degree. The *patios* are generally surrounded by columns of white marble, and paved with the same ma-

terial. This plan, in a great measure, produces the unrivalled cleanliness of the houses, which vies with that of Holland, and is unequalled in any part of the south of Europe. The olfactory nerves of the Spaniards are in general more sensitive than those of the rest of the inhabitants of the south, whose excessive sensibility to the odour of flowers, does not appear at all to extend to those of another description. The mode of cleaning the pavements and floors by a species of mop, is termed *aljofifar*, and the name, as well as the usage, which is almost peculiar to Seville, is decisive evidence of its Moorish origin. It is surprising that in scarcely any part of Spain, where the same want is universally felt, they should not have followed the Seville mode, the only true plan of resisting the heat of this burning climate during the height of summer. The principle is to make the upper part of the house serve as a barrier to the lower, and the progressive increase of temperature may be easily perceived as you ascend the stories. By this management, aided by the construction of these buildings, a body of cool air is kept in the lower precincts, which it is the great object to keep unaffected by the heat which rages without. The same principle extends to the cities. In summer the centre is comparatively cool, whilst the instant you emerge from the mass of buildings, the temperature is changed to the scorching atmosphere of Africa.

The period of changing residence in the houses is about the summer solstice, and they return to the upper story after Michaelmas, those removals being a kind of epoch in the year. The houses are in general neatly, but simply furnished. The upper parts have galleries round the *patios*, which in most houses are now glazed on the winter floor; a prejudice existing very generally that the seasons are modified, and the cold more severe than in former

times. The number of courts varies. Sometimes it consists of three or even more, but in general there are two in the better houses, connecting with each other. The outer court is invariably closed by an open *reja*, or iron gate, highly ornamented, and of beautiful form. The prospect of the *patios* through the gates, with their marble columns, the evergreens, and other ornaments, give an inimitable effect to their houses.

There are beautiful promenades on the Guadalquivir, which have been very much increased of late, and in a few years they will be equalled by few in Europe. The ancient Alameda is surrounded by buildings, and being in a bad quarter of the city, is only used on certain festivals. A small one has been added in a central part, which is very much frequented in the evenings, especially in summer. Some additions are now making on the land side, but they are of little importance, excepting as improving a deserted space, and will not, in all probability, become places of public resort, which is amply provided for on the banks of the Guadalquivir.

The convents are of extraordinary extent and magnificence of building, in their cloisters and lodging conveniences, more than in the churches. The paintings have been in general removed or destroyed, but the sculpture yet attests the pride of Andalusia, in an art carried to its utmost perfection. Private collections of pictures are now no longer to be formed but in small numbers; a few families only possessing pictures *vinculados*, or entailed, which have resisted war and other misfortunes. A few modern collections have been formed amid the wrecks of the former opulence of this emporium of art. The catalogue of artists, whose works are to found here, some of them exclusively, is very numerous. The principal are, Velasquez, Murillo, who can be really seen here only, the two Herreras, the

elder Castillo, Pacheco, Zurbaran, the Polancos, the Valdes, Vasquez, Leandro de la Fuente, Campaña, Osorio, Roelas, Villegas, Cano, Vargas, Tobar, Sturmio, Morales, Alexo Fernandes, Iriarte, and others. In sculpture, Lope Marin, one of the German or Dutch founders of the art in Spain, Torrigiani, whose celebrated St. Jerome is described in its place, Montañes, Cano, Hernandes, Roldan, Delgado, Morel, and some others.

The cathedral takes the first rank in Europe, and is preferred by many persons to every other. The magnificence of the architectural plan, the combination of the Gothic with the Arab *patio*, which ought to have remained untouched, and the splendid tower of the *giralda*, or Moorish tower attached to it, give a peculiar interest possessed by no other. The only deductions from the beauty of it are, the barbarisms introduced in modern times, in various parts, externally and internally, much of which could be easily removed. It is a repository of art of all kinds. There are above twenty pictures of Murillo, besides those of other valuable artists, and some admirable sculpture. In one of the sacristies, is a curious painting, lately placed there, of Tintoretto, a small picture representing the celestial hierarchy in glory, with figures in light, vanishing in perspective into aerial distance of glory, absolutely innumerable, and the garden of Eden underneath. The great sacristy contains a most costly and curious display of *alhajas* and ornaments, amongst which are the Moorish keys of the city, made in order to be presented on the surrender to Ferdinand. The celebrated painting of Campaña, which served as a study, to form the great artists of the school, at the foot of which Murillo was, by his own desire, buried, has been removed here, and is admirably placed in a noble situation. The church in which it was originally placed was taken down in the war. Imme-

diately adjoining the cathedral, is the *alcazar*, a part of the site of which is occupied by the royal palace and gardens. Some of the work of this palace is Moorish, some Moorish restored, some of the time of Charles the Fifth, in good taste, and some modern, in extremely bad. The dimensions of it were very large, as it comprised gardens and detached houses spread over a considerable space, in the oriental manner, parts of which are now let out in tenements, or let out or sold to private individuals. The Moorish part is magnificent, scarcely yielding, in many parts, to the *Alhambra*. It is kept up as a royal residence, and will probably survive the palace of Granada. On a part of the site of the *alcazar*, is the magnificent *lonja*, or exchange, long since useless for that purpose, and converted to the *archivo de Indias*, or depository of papers belonging to America. Next to the *alcazar* in magnificence, is the palace of the Dukes of Alcala, now centered in the house of Medina Celi, and commonly called the house of Pilate. The style is similar to the *alcazar*, to which it bears some resemblance, on a smaller scale. The house of an individual affords a noble specimen of a Moorish hall, in what was probably a private residence, nearly unaltered. It is square, of disproportionate height, with beautiful details. Several other houses contain fragments unchanged, giving an idea of their internal arrangements. Most of the houses no doubt have been built exactly on the foundations of their predecessors. An alteration will be gradually made in the streets, by an edile law, which prescribes the building in straight lines with regular fronts. Every house which is in danger of decay, is obliged to be repaired, and there are excellent regulations for the cleanliness of the palace. Many of the early churches are curiously ornamented on the exterior, with *azulejos*, or tiles of various colours, sometimes with medallions having large

figures and subjects, from designs of good masters copied in the manner of Mosaic. This art is now discontinued. Amongst the best are designs of Murillo on the outside of the chapel of the hospital of St. George.

The Triana, which is a suburb on the opposite side of the Guadalquivir, inhabited chiefly by gypsies, and a mixed population of the same description as that of Trastevere at Rome, has a parish church, where I found some curious old paintings, unnoticed in the descriptions of the books. It possesses a separate market, and the gypsy population has always been a favourite study for the painters. They were very much dreaded by the French during the war.* The capuchin convent, outside the walls, contains, on the whole, the finest works of Murillo. At the time he lived, these monks appear to have enjoyed the highest favour amongst the artists, for their churches are full of the best paintings, which they could never purchase, but must have been in great part presented to them. The fortune of this great painter was made by his being, owing to his poverty, obliged to accept an order from the convent of St. Francisco, which a very inferior artist refused to do for the sum offered, and he had no alternative but to undertake it. This was the celebrated Claustro Chico, of which the paintings were carried off in the war. This Franciscan convent occupies an immense space in the very heart of the city, in a most valuable situation, immediately adjoining the great *plaza*. The area is of several acres, a strange site, but a very common one, for a set of mendicants. The French commenced the demolition of it, which was facilitated by fire, an operation very common in those times, when the black band, who followed the

* This suburb was ravaged by the cholera, during its late visit to this city, where it appears to have travelled from Portugal by the lowlands at the mouths of the Guadiana and Guadalquivir.

camp, were in the habit of burning buildings, in order to purchase the wreck at a cheap rate, and then retail the materials. There are extensive traces of their operations in Spain. They are now rebuilding the ruined parts. Another church in the same vicinity was demolished for the purpose of making a *plaza*, but by calling on the faithful to subscribe, they raised sufficient funds to build a few feet, and it is left; the public at present taking little interest in such plans.

The Moorish walls are nearly entire, and are of great extent. The buildings of the artillery foundry leave every thing in Europe behind, in grandeur and solidity. Those at Woolwich are paltry compared to them. Unfortunately they are now quite useless, a shadow of an establishment only is kept up. A couple of guns are cast monthly, in the arsenal of both the worlds, whence the armada was fitted out, and where the immense mortars were cast for the useless attempt to bombard Cadiz.

The market place is large, and admirably suited to the purpose, and is amply supplied. The buildings are arranged in streets, and an open space surrounds the whole, with gates to divide it, and fountains. The edifices are at present bad, but a plan was announced as I left the place, of an intended reconstruction and amelioration, which, if carried into effect, will make it the best in Spain.

The most curious relic of ancient rites, mingling pagan and civil with religious pomp, is assuredly the celebration of the holy week of Seville. The cathedral is magnificently adorned, and the *custodia*, or service of silver plate, of consummate beauty, which contains the host or emblem of the Supper, is deposited under an architectural canopy, of which the splendour, when illuminated, would appear to have been derived from the east. In this ancient city are various *hermandades* and *cofradias*, or unions in the manner of those

of the trades in towns of England, and other parts of Europe who have long taken the obligation of carrying certain images in procession, from their place of deposit in different churches, during fixed days in Passion week. These processions are conducted with pomp, many of them at great expense. Whatever may have been the idea at the time they were formed, now no other is attached to them than as a religious carnival. The figures who assist are dressed in the most fantastic manner, and generally masked, or have the face covered. After the disturbance of Cadiz, in 1831, the government thought it prudent to suspend their issuing forth in this disguise, and ordered them to go unmasked; but they refused to forego the usual forms, denying the right of prescribing the mode of conducting their procession, although they might be prohibited from appearing in the streets. The processions were accordingly suspended, but a serious loss to commerce accrued, and the interference was not persevered in. Some of the finest statues of Montañes, the first sculptor of the Seville school, are seen in these processions.

The country around Seville is nearly uncultivated, with the exception of a few gardens immediately at the gates, and some beautifully situated convents, with extensive orange groves. On the right of the Guadalquivir is a beautiful line of height, in the manner of Hampstead, affording the most lovely sites for country houses, of which there are very few at present. At a greater distance, on the opposite side of the river, is a tract of the same description, rising above the Guadaira, which flows into the "great river" a little below the city. There are *cortijos* scattered over the plain around, in beautiful situations, but at present they are considered by the people to be uninhabitable, from the attacks of robbers, who render any detached building untenable. To the East there is partial cultivation, in ascending the Guadalquivir, but the nume-

rous villages, which once existed along the banks, are rapidly hastening to decay, from the usual effects of the present system on the agricultural districts, aggravated by the malaria, which is very prevalent on both sides the river. An extensive scheme, impracticable from its enormous expense, has been set on foot for making a canal to Cordova. A part of it, however, is likely to be made, to connect the city with a place higher up, and to supply water for irrigation, which will be of great value for the cultivation of the plain to the east of the city. The river is navigable for merchant vessels of moderate size, and the tide flows beyond Seville; but the system is so bad, and the charges so ruinous, that the wool and other articles are sent to great distances, to the North of Spain, to avoid them, and the navigation is now of little moment, although it ought to command a very extensive trade. The bar or entrance of the river is difficult, and when it blows from the Atlantic, impracticable. The system of navigation, which is regulated by a *junta*, is so oppressive, that it is said very few vessels ever return a second time to encounter it. The women of Seville are celebrated for their beauty, and for the grace they possess in common with all the Andaluzas. There are few public amusements, and at present no general assemblies, or *tertulias*, but there is excellent private society, in which respect it probably excels any town in Spain.

A few families repair to the Sierra Morena during the summer, where the heat is less oppressive, and the air delicious. This plan would be much more general if the roads were better. At present, Cazalla, Constantina, and Aracena, which are the principal places, and are quite in the heart of the Sierra, can only be approached on horseback, and even then with difficulty. The remedy is of extreme facility; no kind of difficulty

existing to the making good roads, to every part of this neglected country. Game is found in prodigious and almost incredible quantities. The malaria extends some distance from the river into the Sierra, but when you approach the centre it ceases. I made excursions to visit the mines of Villa Nueva, and Guadalcanal. Nothing can be more beautiful or more fertile than the country in the heart of the Sierra, which is now in a state of utter neglect and *despoblado*. The soil is a rich mould, capable of producing any thing. The townships have large tracts of common land, which are waste, and unproductive, whilst, from the want of management, the proprietors, who ought to be wealthy without any other possessions, are starving. The people of the Sierra, who are a peculiar race, are mentioned elsewhere.

The trade of Seville was materially affected by the establishment of the free port of Cadiz, and the inland commerce, which formerly centred in it, was carried on directly with the places themselves, to the prejudice of the retail dealers, and revenue of the place. A plan is in agitation, supposed to be a job of some interested persons, for removing the custom-house to St. Lucar, at the entrance of the river, which will be of no advantage to the revenue, and be productive of great inconvenience to the commerce of the place.

Cadiz is rapidly decaying; the temporary stimulus of the establishment of a free port, whilst the sources of commerce in the interior are dried up, and the consumption reduced to nothing, having produced no permanent effect. The bad faith of the government, who after exacting large sums for the privilege, in a short time broke their agreement, and endeavoured to force the payment of the duty on tobacco, and then, using the unfortunate occurrence of 1831, in which the people took no part, as a

pretence, gave a decree to annul the franchise, which could not be carried into effect, as it was in direct violation of positive stipulations and contracts made at the time of the establishment of the port, are the causes of the trade being paralyzed. These reasons concur to cause an arrangement, which promised great advantage to the country, to be of little use to any one, but to a few individuals, and to the amateurs of tobacco. It was definitely fixed that the franchise should be done away, at the end of 1832, and the tyranny of Riera, who is the commercial dictator, was extended over almost every part of the kingdom.

The towns on the bay, which a few years since, 'during the existence of the Spanish marine, and the trade with America, teemed with opulence, are now in a state of irremediable ruin. Cadiz itself yet retains the neatness for which it has always been celebrated, and the cheerfulness and sociability of the inhabitants, amid all their misfortunes, are yet unchanged. It is the country in Spain where foreigners are received with the greatest pleasure, and have the most facilities for seeing the people, who, in ease and affability of manners, are exceeded by none in the world.

There are now scarcely any objects of art, excepting some paintings of Murillo at the Capuchin convent. The pressure of living, owing to the increase of price of the necessaries of life, by the municipal duties laid on to raise the subsidy paid to government for the privilege of the free port, was severely felt, and to many of the inhabitants more than compensated for the advantage of purchasing some articles at a cheaper rate than they are to be obtained in the interior. There does not appear the slightest probability of this interesting place recovering any portion of its former prosperity, which, under the system followed, and

from the situation Spain is in, is quite impossible without a total change of system, and the revival of commerce. The *feet*, for which this place has always been celebrated, are only seen generally in the city and towns on the bay, seldom beyond that radius, although the women in every part of Spain are admirably shaped. The peculiar foot of Cadiz is short and round in the ancle, with a high instep, the ligaments being apparently compressed so as to give the springiness of step so admirable in their walk, but which the loss of the *basquiña* threatens to neutralize by introducing a slouching or careless gait. The real Moorish or Arab eyes may be also seen there, although pairs of them are to be met with in all parts of Andalusia. These are large and very full, expanding if excited, and placed in a very large orbit. Their origin is unquestionable, and they exactly answer the description of those so celebrated by the Arab poets. The Moorish countenance is not confined to the lower or middle ranks, but is found in every station throughout Andalusia; notwithstanding the pride of pure blood, the mixture may be detected in the best families.

SEVILLE TO MADRID, BY ESTREMADURA.

I LEFT Seville in April, 1831, soon after the establishment of a diligence to Badajos, which was then commencing operations, and every thing connected with it was in a rude state of transition. There had been previously no beds on the route, but they were already provided, and we fared tolerably. It was less actively followed up, as the success of the experiment was doubtful, and it was a separate undertaking from that of the royal association at Madrid. The country is uninteresting in the extreme, affording only bleak

and dreary plains. The Sierra Morena itself, in this part, has none of the features which generally characterize such a range. We met vast numbers of rude cars, drawn each by two miserable bullocks, travelling to Seville. They came, I understood, from the neighbourhood of Ciudad Rodrigo, and were laden with sacks of corn, which is carried at this season periodically, and exchanged for salt and other articles. They occupy six weeks in the journey, and return in good condition, although at this time they were far from it. The period is regulated by the pasturage, as they encamp by the road sides, and feed in the place of their halt. They seldom or never enter the villages, travelling in company, and bivouacking with fires lighted, in the manner of gypsies. We passed over the field of Albuera, which, like so many others, little exhibits the character naturally expected to mark such a scene.

Badajos is stricken with decay, and is dwindled to a provincial town of the fourth class, instead of the capital of this magnificent province, which it represents. This part of Spain, I have understood, partially recovered the consequences of the war, by the enormous gains of those possessed of cattle and mules for hire; but since the last change that temporary prosperity is entirely gone, and it will probably never again resume its former appearance. There are still a few of the paintings of Morales, who was a native of the place, and which by some accident have been allowed to remain. The country to Merida is open, and only partially cultivated, although of the greatest natural fertility. It lies along the banks of the Guadiana, with abundant means of irrigation, and is gently broken into undulating hills and vales.

The Roman ruins of Merida include a Circus, which appeared to me equal to that of the Circus Maximus at Rome; a theatre; an amphitheatre, which has conveniences for

admitting water, whence they term it the *naumachia*; two bridges, one of enormous length over the Guadiana, partly modern, having been repaired on the original design; a building at the end of it, which appears to have been the citadel, and is the work of different ages. In the centre of it is a curious double descent by long ramps to the Guadiana, apparently for the purpose of carrying water, but of magnificent work, and one of the finest Roman remains in Europe. The part near the river, which washes one side of this edifice, appears to be entirely Roman. The lower part is a bold projecting basement, and it is flanked by small towers at very short distances. The inland parts appear to be principally Moorish work, but are constructed of the original materials. On one side a projecting tower has been thrown out, detached from the body, and connected by a bridge, a rude attempt at the first construction of out-works. Near the Guadiana is seen a Roman gateway, of granite, and over it a marble tablet, with a beautiful Arabic inscription, placed no doubt in grateful remembrance of the prophet at the time of the capture. The double passage in the centre, which led down to the bed of the river, could have served no other purpose than to supply water. The masonry is beautiful, and marble is mixed with the granite. At present the communication of the lower part with the river is interrupted, as the water was clear and the river quite otherwise, being highly flooded; but the accumulation of rubbish prevented it being seen whether a spring existed on the spot, or the water was supplied by infiltration. The citadel was materially injured, and a spacious convent built in part of it, blown up in the war of independence. A temple yet exists, encased in a private house, a sufficient quantity of it remaining to show the plan. It appears to have been peripteral, with six columns in the front, and seven in the flanks, of the Corinthian order. The columns

are granite, with the unusual circumstance of the capitals having been wrought of the same material. The shell of a magnificent triumphal arch remains, but all the architectural ornaments have disappeared. The theatre has been used in modern times as a *plaza de toros*. The aqueducts are of mixed brick and granite; but, with a trifling exception, every edifice in the place is of the latter rock, which is easily procured in the vicinity, whilst marble must be brought from great distances. The place is rapidly declining, owing to the decay of the merino trade, of which it is a principal depot, and the unhealthiness of the atmosphere in summer, the whole country being subject to malaria. This year very heavy rains, of most unusual duration, fell late in the spring, and being succeeded by a cold summer, the sickness and mortality were extraordinary. After an exceeding depression, the wool trade had improved, and the markets had recovered from their torpor. Heavy complaints are still made of the ruin caused to these fertile lands by the *mesta*; but it appears the tribunals begin to yield, and that the decisions in litigated cases lean more to the side of their opponents than in former times.

From Merida I took the diligence, passing through a most uninteresting country, but of great natural riches, to Truxillo. We slept at Jaraicejo, which stands in the defiles which conduct to the high grounds on the left of the Tagus. There is a terrace, whence is a most magnificent view of great extent over hill and dale, towards the Sierra Morena. The next day we passed the Puerto de Miravete, a bold pass and defile above the Tagus, whence there is a splendid view over the vale of the river to the magnificent range of the Sierra de Gata, and Sierra de Gredos, extending to the neighbourhood of Placentia. Descending by this pass, we came to the Puente de Almaraz, so celebrated in the war of independence, which has never been repaired. The

Tagus being much swollen, the coaches were stopped, and the passengers were obliged to cross on a rude sort of raft, at considerable risk of being floated down the river. We slept at a *posada*, a few miles further on, and the next day reached Talavera, which we should have done on the preceding day, but from the ordinary course of the diligence being interrupted by the want of a good ferry-boat at Almaraz.

In beauty of situation Talavera is excelled by few cities in Spain, and it certainly exceeds every thing in Castile. It was once a royal residence, and from hence started the Christian Knights to rescue the Queen of Granada, which, whether it be historically true or not, is one of the most beautiful tales in the world.*

The place is now rapidly following the fate of nearly all the towns of the interior, in proceeding to decay. The same night we arrived at Madrid, without accident; but we were ordered to be ready, and the escort stood to their arms, in passing a *cuesta*, at a short distance only from the gates, as robbers frequently select it for a place of operations.

TOLEDO.

In this celebrated place, the admirer of architecture will find specimens of all ages, and of almost every style, Roman, Moorish, middle age, Jewish, Gothic, classic, and modern. The lover of painting, of which there is ample store; of sculpture in all its branches, in which it is yet richer; the speculator in the decay and ruins of ancient grandeur, and its causes; the amateur of the picturesque in

* See the Moorish tales of the wars of Granada.

art and nature combined : all these tastes may be gratified in this renowned seat of art and former grandeur.

A promontory of the Tagus, where its ample waters are compressed into a narrow bed, and circle around a bold headland, is covered by picturesque and varied masses of buildings, grouped in the Moorish manner. The streets are too narrow and steep to admit of carriages in the greater part of the city. The cathedral is placed near the centre. The *alcazar*, or royal palace, of the time of Charles the Fifth, which succeeded the Moorish castle, occupies the highest summit of the promontory, and proudly overlooks every object around it. The beautiful Gothic church of the Reyes Nuevos ranks next to the cathedral. Various small churches, formerly mosques, retain their form nearly unaltered. The convents are numerous, but have severely suffered, and their treasures of art are chiefly gone. Some of these buildings, whose vast extent formed the flanks of the town, and projected their masses over the plain, were destroyed or injured, to make the place less tenable in the war of independence. The Moorish mosques which have been converted to the churches now dedicated to St. Ramon, Cristo de la Luz, Santa Maria La Blanca, are of different styles, but of small dimensions. The Transitu, which was a Jewish synagogue, has been turned into a military magazine. Their forms, yet almost unaltered, recall the times when tolerance permitted these religions to be freely exercised, as in the better days of Toledo. The treasures in art of the cathedral are inestimable. The notices of the sculptors and painters of the school of Castile, must be examined to avoid repetition. The principal who figure in it are Berruguete, Villalpando, Felipe and Gregorio Vignary, Domingo de Cespedes, Pardo, Copin de Olanda, Pedro de Mena (an Andalusian), Xamete, and many others. The painters are less numerous than the pro-

fessors of the sister art, but the works of some of the best of the school of Castile, are now only to be found there: Blas del Prado, Theotocupuli, Velasco, Borgoña, Orrente (a Valencian), and some others. The *alhajas*, or ornaments of the treasury, used in the great festivals, are of immense value. The robe of the Virgin, which is covered with precious stones, is so valuable, that on an enemy invading, it is immediately removed for security, and, I believe, in the war of independence, remained some time at Cadiz. The *alcazar*, the limited extent of the site of which was one reason given for its never being completed, has undergone various destinations. It was burnt in the war of the succession, repaired, and converted into manufactories and a work-house; it was again ruined more recently, and is now quite untenanted.

An inscription has been put in modern times on the site of the house of Padilla, which was demolished, as if to perpetuate the name of the Spanish Sidney, whilst the narrow-minded projectors imagined they were consigning it to infamy. It might well be added, "Si monumentum quæris, circumspice!" The mouldering ruins of this former seat of industry, her arts, manufactures, and commerce extinct, the villages and towns, of which forty are said to have disappeared in modern times, and their territory been converted into *despoblados*, are silent witnesses to the real nature of the triumph over the liberties of Castile. His heroic wife, who, after his execution, defended the *alcazar*, until compelled by famine to evacuate it, is included in this anathema of priests and admirers of monarchic principles, which have produced such bitter fruits in their temporary triumph.

In its present state the city could have only been made a part of the metropolis, like the old town of Edinburgh, to which it bears some resemblance, but the territory allowed

ample means for extending the buildings on every side, with all the advantages of beauty and convenience. The climate is healthy. The summer is hot, as in all Castile; but the winter mild in comparison with Madrid, and the soil fertile. A defect, which has exercised the ingenuity of many engineers, admits of simple remedy by modern science; water requires to be raised from the Tagus to supply the town, which a force-pump would effect with the greatest ease. The plan mentioned at Seville of using *toldos*, or canvas coverings for the *patios*, is practised here in the summer. The communications with Madrid were almost interrupted from the rains and the breaking down of a trifling bridge. Between these cities we traversed open fields, with constant danger of being overturned.

VALENCIA.

IN the spring of 1830, owing to continued storms of snow, the Puerto de Almanza, and the passage of the Xucar, near St. Felipe, in the plain of Valencia, were impracticable for several days, and the communication with Madrid was quite suspended. At the end of that period I set out. The road through La Mancha had been completely cut into deep furrows, during long rains and snow storms, and a burning sun having immediately succeeded, it was so hard, that the wheels were with difficulty dragged through the indurated ridges. A bridge was commenced over the important pass of the Xucar at this point, but, it is said, owing to some miscalculation, a very unusual circumstance with the Spanish engineers, the foundation is unequal to bear the finishing of the upper works, and it seems now quite given up. It is to be regretted the route had ever been

taken in this direction, instead of passing by the direct lines of Tarancon and Cuenca. Valencia is a close and compact town, not of great circumference, but containing a large and dense population, in a solidly built mass of houses, almost unbroken, and without gardens or open spaces, so common in other parts of the south. This gives the place the dull and cheerless aspect so often remarked. The streets are narrow, the houses of the richer part of the community of enormous solidity, and well suited to resist the burning heats of summer. The walls are almost entire, as in the time of the Moors, but some parts have been rebuilt, and some noble Gothic towers added, which give an extremely picturesque effect to parts of them. The outside of the ditch is nearly clear, and it is not commanded, the country all around being flat. In this situation, with a determined population, who had the gates shut, and were ready for defence, it was judged imprudent to attack it in the war of Napoleon, who gave orders himself to that effect, and the surer mode of famine was adopted to reduce it. Unfortunately, the public library was destroyed by the bombardment, and a curious tower of the Dominican convent. The place was dreadfully injured by that war, and almost every family was reduced by it. The activity and industry of the people are gradually repairing these disasters. The agricultural population have the entire command of the streets, which are unpaved, from the right they claim of removing the surface for manure, and bringing in fresh quantities of loose sandy gravel, to substitute for it. The consequence is, the streets are covered with dust and filth, for which there is no remedy. The same process is carried on with the roads in the neighbourhood, which are periodically made, and the old materials carried away. The cathedral is a dark and ill-proportioned edifice, but contains some good works of Juanes, and Orrente, and of Napoli

and Aregio, Italians. There is a magnificent sacristy built recently for the use of the archbishop. A Gothic tower of great beauty, and commanding a magnificent view, is attached to it ; but the greatest architectural curiosity in the place is the *lonja*, or silk mart, which is a light and most elegant Gothic hall, supported by twisted columns. The principal churches are St. Domingo, which seems the most frequented, and St. Juan del Mercado, a light structure, entirely painted in fresco in the upper parts by Palomino ; a rare sight in Spain. The church of the Collegio de Corpus is richly adorned, and seemed the resort of the more devout and abstracted of the population during Lent, the service being performed with great solemnity. Most of the other churches, which contained inestimable treasures of painting, have been laid waste, with more than usual Vandal zeal. Scarcely a scrap remains in most of them ; but in those enumerated, and in some others, and in private hands, may yet be seen remnants of a school, one of the first in Spain. Juanes, the two Ribaltas, Espinosa, Ribera (Spagnoletto), Esteban March, and others, illustrated this city, which scarcely yielded even to Seville, in skill and protection of the arts. The women of this city are celebrated for their beauty, and even vie with the Andaluzas, but are considered by the best judges to yield in grace to the western race. Great numbers are fair, proving that the heat of climate is not the cause of the opposite complexion. Assassinations are too common amongst the lower orders. In a road near the city I observed an *azulejo*, or blue tile, with an inscription on it, fixed permanently into the wall, bearing these words : “ *Aquí murió — a manos de un hombre que no poseeía sus virtudes.* ” “ Here died, (I have forgotten the name), by the hands of a man, who did not possess his virtues.” The usual mode of commemorating these events, especially in the Tierra Caliente, where they are too com-

mon, is the single inscription, "*Aquí mataron,*" or "*aquí murió,*" with the date, without further allusion to the circumstances. This inscription is almost sublime from its laconic simplicity, recording the event, without attempting to excite or continue feelings, which might prolong or again produce similar calamities, when it was too late for remedy. The silk manufactures of this place, which formed the greatest branch of the trade of the mother country with the colonies, fell by the events of the double war which finally separated them; and others having now taken the place of those which were only upheld by monopoly and forced circulation, they have almost entirely gone down. The produce of their looms is so inferior that they cannot stand the competition of the French, who, in an article so portable, and of which the inducement is so great to contraband, pour in supplies without difficulty. Machinery has lately been introduced on the modern plan, and the government have imposed a duty on exportation of the raw material, in order to force the growers of it to retail it to the dealers at home, and to compel the establishment of manufactories, instead of taking means to induce the agriculturists to grow more silk, and enter, as they might do, into the European market, in which they might take a leading part. The same system extends to the other branches of commerce. The raisins of Denia will shortly be supplanted by those of Greece, and of different parts of the Levant, whilst the object of the government seems the destruction rather than the increase of the trade. About thirty English vessels arrive annually, chiefly with fish, which is here a necessary of life, and is eaten as a staple article of food by all ranks, from habit, and not from religious feeling, as the Spanish dominions have a bull of exemption, in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining fish. The agriculture of the plain is on a par with that of any district in Europe, and is a de-

cisive proof, that neither climate nor races of men, nor surrounding examples, nor badness of laws, are certain impediments to the industry of man. In management it resembles the Val d'Arno, and the novel sight, in Spain, is seen of detached houses, which are very small and scattered every where over the plain. It is possible this isolated mode of living may produce, in some degree, the sullen and distrustful manners so much noticed in the peasantry, and so different from the social and frank habits of the inhabitants of other provinces, who live constantly together. The soil is naturally bad, and only kept productive, like the Vega of Granada, by constant forcing and irrigation. The rice grounds are the most lucrative branch, drawing the waters, which convert their districts into pest-houses, principally from the Xucar. If the culture of *arroz secano*, mentioned in the account of Motril, be introduced, it will be of inestimable advantage to the whole of this kingdom. At present the corn is drawn from La Mancha, in exchange for rice, and oil, and other articles. The oil is considered the best in Spain, owing, no doubt, to a little better mode of manufacturing. No good theatre existed, or *plaza de toros*. The former was prevented by the archbishop, from a long continued policy. He has no direct power in such matters, which are the concern of the civil authorities, but his subscription to the public charities is so great, that the threat of withholding it was sufficient to effect the purpose.* The see is now the richest in Spain, principally owing to the rice grounds. There is a noble establishment of central schools, called *Escuelas Pias*, which is on a very large scale, and appeared admirably conducted. There were about three thousand boys educated gratis, and a corresponding separate establishment for girls on the same plan.

* When leaving Spain, I heard that this difficulty had been overcome, and that a theatre was building, which has since been finished.

There is an upper branch for the education of those whose circumstances enable their expences to be paid, who are lodged and separately kept, and prepared for the higher colleges. The academy also has a very numerous attendance of youth, to learn the art of design. Printing has always been carried on upon a comparatively large scale, and I believe it is next to Madrid in this branch of industry. The people are extremely devout, and the religious ceremonies appear more closely followed and attended than in most parts of Spain, a proof that this religion is not incompatible with industry; nor the abundance of monks, who are here in vast numbers, certain signs of the country being ill cultivated, or the exclusive haunt of *holgazanes*, although these individuals may not contribute to the stock, nor be in themselves promoters of labour or activity. The pure Moorish costume is maintained by the peasantry, who wear frequently a red scull-cap, like that of the opposite coast of Barbary, a tight vest on the body, white petticoat trousers, or kilt, the knees bare, and the legs covered with a loose linen, descending to the ancles, with sandals. A red or red and yellow striped plaid is worn over the shoulders, like a toga. The women now wear universally cotton, generally with a handkerchief tied over the head. The linen, which composes the greater part of the dress of the men, is invariably clean, and beautifully white.

The *paseos*, or public promenades, are magnificent, extending outside the walls to the Grao, or seaport, nearly a league distant, where are small houses on the sea-shore, which are frequented during the summer for the sake of bathing.

I hired a *tartana*, or tilted cart, which are found in incredible numbers in the plain of Valencia, and proceeded to Murviedro, of which the historical recollections make it of interest to every one. But the remains are now con-

fined to the slender fragments of a theatre, which stood outside the town, or at least upon the outskirts. The Moorish fort, which crowns the long and narrow ridge above it, has been kept up, and, with some modern additions, is quite tenable as a place of war, and would be extremely difficult to take, if well defended, from its isolated and commanding situation.

To the east of this the country is flat, forming a low terrace, almost uninterrupted, to the Ebro, having the sea on one side, and the mountains on the other, and is certainly the most beautiful drive on any high road in Spain. The country is irrigated wherever it is possible to do so, and in parts where the bare rock forbids any other culture, the *algarroba* yields an ample produce for the maintenance of their abundant stock, for which herbage is denied by the climate.

Near the Ebro the peasantry have a peculiarly ferocious appearance, and I believe crimes are too common amongst them. At this time the roads were secure, but in the preceding winter, the diligence had been robbed. On entering Catalonia, the costume, bearing, and manner of the people are entirely changed. The cathedral of Tarragona is one of the oldest and most curious of its class, and contains many tombs, but scarcely any paintings or sculpture of note.

Barcelona is now the most active and thriving place in Spain, and is recovering the most quickly from the disasters of wars and insurrections, in which it has been always a principal sufferer. The town is on a flat, at the end of which is the Montjuich, the celebrated height, of which the almost impregnable citadel forms its principal defence. Another citadel commands the town and harbour. The city is surrounded by a line of regular works, but would be defenceless without these citadels. It has the extreme

inconvenience of being confined to a radius, which cannot be passed without interference from the military authorities, and all improvements outside are stopped, and building only permitted at too great a distance for comfort. The gates are rigorously closed at sunset, and the place has all the disadvantages of a regular garrison. A magnificent promenade has been made, by the exertions of the late Captain general,* outside the town, and the walls and harbour line inside secure ample room for the health of the inhabitants.

The improvement of conveyances, and the establishment of diligences, which is now of such importance in Spain, originated here, and is followed up with increasing activity by local companies, who are independent, and are not concerned with the central establishment at Madrid.

The women are coarse, but well made in general, with full and luxuriant forms, and the men are strong and athletic, eaters of meat, and drinkers of wine. By the industry of the country, in which they excel every province in Spain, they ought, according to some theories, to be free from bigotry and religious prejudice. They are quite the contrary, and the monks have made their strongest stand in this part of the country. The means of education are ample, and probably, according to the official returns, equal those of any other part of Europe. There are eight hundred and thirty-nine schools in the province, which educate forty thousand scholars; seventy of them teaching the latin tongue.

The archives of the kingdom of Aragon are kept here, in a building made bomb proof for the purpose, and are a model of neatness and good arrangement. There is a public library belonging to the see, which, as usual with those esta-

* Conde de España.

blishments, is rich in theological and monkish lore, but deficient in nearly every other species of literature. The place is now teeming with population : a great misfortune, where there are no means of extending the circumference. It has been increased by political events, which have driven people in from the provincial towns.

I made an excursion to Cardona and Monserrat, by Manresa, a small town beautifully situated on a branch of the Llobregat. It has never recovered the effects of the war of independence ; when the inhabitants leaving the place on the approach of the French troops, in their peregrinations in order to raise contributions, it was out of revenge set on fire. Nothing could justify such proceedings. I was sorry to hear the name of Marshal Macdonald, one of the most humane of the French generals, mixed up with these transactions. Although this place is a few miles only from Barcelona, it was found impracticable to keep permanent possession of it, and the mountain fort, or castle of Cardona, only five leagues further, was never even attacked. The situation of this fort is extremely strong, as it occupies the apex of a lofty height. The summit is extremely high, the base of the mountain being completely commanded from the works, and it has the rare advantage of being concentrated, and requiring a very small garrison ; whilst the base admits ample room for issuing out, and makes it almost impossible to block it. It is a perfect model of a mountain hold. They are adding to the fortifications, and converting the church, which contains some curious tombs of a noble family it once belonged to, into the depot of provisions.

The reason of the defence of this part, which is so near the frontier, and in a province which they had so long quiet possession of, is the determined character of the people. There are many small hamlets and single houses, covered

with wood, and in situations extremely difficult of access. The tocsin being sounded, the people assembled, and, under their guerilla chiefs, made incursions with such rapidity and success, that no force could keep the field in the interior of the country. Latterly they took the offensive, and made inroads by the upper Segre into France, carrying off flocks, and raising contributions in the French Roussillon.

The enormous mass of rock salt at Cardona has been too often described, to require much notice. It protrudes from the earth to a height of five hundred feet; the depth underneath is yet unascertained. The area seen is about a mile in circumference. It is more particularly mentioned under the head of mines. I returned by Monserrat, of which the convent is partly rebuilt, but the greater part is in hopeless ruin, having been partly destroyed to make it untenable as a military post. This is of little consequence, but the sculpture and paintings, the former especially, which was of great interest, perished in the process of blowing it up, and setting fire to complete the operation. The sanctuaries, or hermitages, which studded the rock, are still untenanted. It was expected some of them would be shortly reoccupied, but the monks seem to prefer the social refectory to these places of absurd and ridiculous penance. I went to Gerona, of which the defence was still more extraordinary and more obstinate than that of Zaragoza, in the war of independence. It stood a close siege of several months, and only surrendered when it was impossible to hold out any longer. The situation is by no means suited to such an obstinate resistance, which no other people but the Spaniards would have made.

This province is the thriving and active seat of manufactories of cotton, woollen, paper, and other articles, which promise to make it the richest part of Spain. The abun-

dant waters of the interior serve to encourage the establishment of these various branches of industry, and the improvement of communications, and a degree of activity in the people, scarcely to be expected, promise to make their towns the Liverpool and Manchester of the Peninsula.

CHAPTER VIII.

Madrid.

PHILIP THE SECOND was styled by Jovellanos "El Escorialense," from that durable monument of his gloomy and fanatic mind. The *Matriteuse* would have been a better denomination, for the raising that structure was a harmless amusement compared with the mischief entailed on his successors and the country at large, by the forced appropriation of such a site as that of Madrid for the metropolis, in which he had a principal share.

If the object had been a central position, Toledo, Talavera, or even Guadalaxara, were almost equally so, and combined advantages which are entirely wanting to Madrid, the locality of which, in every respect, is inversely what it ought to be. It has scarcely any good water, no navigation, a very bad climate, and a dreary desert around it. Such is the position chosen for the capital of this magnificent country, which abounded in the finest situations, with splendid cities already built, when this project of converting a mountain of boar and bear* into a metropolis was conceived, the execution of which may be considered the triumph of despotic power.

The court passes a gloomy period at a season when the

* *Montaña de puerco y oso*, as termed by the old writers, when it was a royal chase, a short time only before this plan was determined on.

taking the air in particular winds is so dangerous, that few people venture out, unless from necessity, and as the ancient severity of etiquette is kept up, it adds little to the gaiety of the place. The grandees of Spain, with few exceptions, are chained to this miserable spot, where they drag on a life of poverty and subjection, in reality less free than the peasants who cultivate their properties. Their vast possessions are in general semi-deserts, where the resident population live independently of the proprietor, whom they never see, and scarcely know by name. For this barbarous system they are mainly indebted to the Escorialense, who bequeathed it to his posterity, by whom it has been carefully handed down as a leading maxim of state policy. Their palaces are inhabited by vast trains of menials, who live on for generations, devouring the marrow and substance of their masters, whose state or splendour is in no degree augmented by them. They are scarcely better than the monks, excepting that they propagate, if it be any advantage to continue a race of *holgazanes*, who ruin their employers without adding to the common stock, or increasing the circulation. The lives of most of these grandees are spent in a style of simplicity as to personal comforts, not in any respect better than that of a country gentleman of moderate fortune in England.

The jealousy with which the nobles are retained about the seat of government, in the performance of the menial offices transmitted from the dark ages, is such, that not only they are not permitted to reside on their estates, but temporary leave to visit them is procured with the greatest difficulty; and when banished, they are generally ordered to places where they have no interest or connexion.

Before any progress or even a commencement can be made in the political and economical reorganization of the kingdom, this system must be reversed, and in place of

being restricted from it, the landowners must be compelled to build houses, and live at least a part of the year on their estates; and the stars and decorations, instead of being bestowed for services alike degrading to those who exact, or to those who perform them, must be given to the founders of colonies, or the makers of roads and bridges, or bestowed for the encouragement of agriculture, by the construction of *pantanos* and *acequias*, or breeding of horses, and planting woods, or other improvements.

The intention of this system of detention was of course to separate the nobility from the people, and prevent their making common cause, as in England, against the tyranny of the crown, in emerging from the dark ages. To the honour of the Spanish nobles, it has completely failed. Although one of the chief objects of the framers of the *sistema* was to exclude them from participating in, or taking any part in the government, they made common cause with the people; and so ardently did they enter into it, that in 1830, out of forty who stand at the head of the nobility of Spain, twenty-four were still *impurificados*, or committed so deeply that the government would not absolve them. Of these some were personal friends of the king, who continued a kind of coquetry in private with them.

So entirely are these illustrious persons above the feeling of "caste," that the greater part would cheerfully join in supporting the *sistema*, were it again introduced. Notwithstanding their fallen state, the adverse party dared not meddle with them, and most of them lived unmolested, although known to be entirely hostile to the late ministry. In the time of the constitution, many of these individuals waived their rank, and enrolled themselves in the national guard. In one family the eldest son died from fatigue in the discharge of this duty. There is generally, and probably truly, said to be little intellectual cultivation amongst them, but

the situation in which they are placed is ample excuse, and before condemning them, we should look to the situation of similar classes in other countries, where every human inducement is held out to exertion, and pause before we estimate bodies of men by the individuals who may be found in it. The eloquent writer of a descriptive sketch of the Spanish nobles, might have easily found many who honoured their rank rather more than himself, although they might not possess his poetical talent.

In close connection with the nobility are the great orders of knighthood, which are regular corporations, with large possessions, and ample privileges and immunities. The members of these are chiefly the younger brothers of the higher nobility, and the chiefs of the secondary and inferior houses, who are not rich enough to live on their own properties, and enter the service with a view to obtain the commanderies of these orders, to which stipends are attached. Many of these joined in the constitution, and were subjected to the same ordeal as the rest, by a tyrannical and illegal suspension of their orders until they should be purified. These operations were carried on, by express order, by *secret information*; the knights never knowing by whom or of what they were accused. It happened, as in so many other cases, that the dreadful tyranny of this order made it impossible it could be carried into effect. The stern and stubborn character of the heads of these bodies, who fought against the monkish inquisition attempted to be set over them, with the same obstinacy their ancestors opposed to the moslems, finally triumphed, and an order came out, I think in 1832, after nine years had been consumed in the useless attempt, stating that the plan of secret denunciation was found impracticable, and that the knights must be tried by their usual laws and customs,

for the part they might have taken in the disorders of the constitutional system.*

Nearly the whole industry of Madrid is carried on by strangers, who assemble from every part of Spain. The natives are not only unfit for work of the heavier sorts, like those of all capitals, but in the departments in which they generally excel, those of conducting shops and detail business of all kinds, they are the worst in the world. The dealing with the common tradespeople is a matter of obligation and difficulty, and you are robbed by a set (almost every thing is excessively dear), who believe they are conferring a favor, in condescending to deal with you. Catalonia, Valencia, Aragon, the free provinces, the Montaña of Santander, Asturias, and Galicia, furnish quotas to maintain a population, which declines so rapidly, that the second generation is deteriorated, and the whole would soon dwindle and perish, without the various recruits supplied from these distant sources. The vigorous arms of these hardy races commenced the national opposition to the yoke of Napoleon, which the enfeebled and corrupt natives of the place would never have done.

Every thing is exotic. The strawberries are brought from Aranjuez, thirty miles distant, the apricots from Toledo, fifty miles; peaches are carried on mules from Aragon, and butter from Asturias. Every part of Spain is put in requisition, not for luxuries, which cannot be said to exist, but to supply the necessaries of life to a spot in the middle of a desert, and which would soon revert to its original state of forest, but from the adventitious aid perpetually forced upon it. The different branches of bu-

* The official term in the time of Calomarde, where it was generally alluded to as a period of anarchy and confusion, or as a sort of interregnum.

siness are carried on principally by people of the respective provinces who emigrate, retaining correspondents in their native places. Thus oranges and lemons are sold by Valencians, dates by Murcians, and so forth. So strong is local habit, that every man's origin is known, and in the *diario* the usual form is to apply to the Catalan of such a street, the Valencian of another, and so on. The houses of resort, as *posadas*, and *casas de pupilos* (boarding houses), are frequented in a similar manner from local connexions, who congregate in the ancient mode of the rest of Europe.

Several causes appear to combine in forming the peculiar character attributed to the people of Madrid. The *vie casanière* they lead in a place where there is scarcely diversion or occupation, but of the commonest description, and none of the mixture of rural and other amusements which all the capitals of Europe in some degree share; the want of literary and scientific employment, or resources of any kind, but in the frivolity of common life, unaided by those accompaniments; the absolute nullity of character imposed by the government, to forward its particular views, which required the grinding the whole mass down to a level, in which no point should be salient; the habitual course of intrigue and place hunting which is the occupation of a large portion of the population; these reasons must produce their natural effects, and may account for the dislike frequently shown for them by the other Spaniards. It is the seat of corruption of every kind. All the abuses of the monarchy centre here. No cause so bad, no crime so indefensible, but some one may be found to undertake to plead it, in this medley of characters, where the habits of intrigue, and circumventing or supplanting, are mixed up in the dealings of society. Hence the want of sincerity where you are perpetually told

of frankness; hence unmeaning professions, the solidity of which is soon discovered, if put to the test, and hence the little sympathy with the rest of the nation, from whom they are separated, and appear to live as the inhabitants of a Lybian oasis, unheeding the whirlwinds which overwhelm and destroy whole caravans at their gates.

By far the most accessible part of the society to strangers, is that of the people of the provinces, who are brought by necessity or other motives for temporary residence, and retain their natural manners and habits, without acquiring those of the place. Unlike all other countries, the best manners are not in the metropolis, where they are adulterated and mixed with those of foreign importation. The sterling manners of Spain must be sought for in the country, and provincial capitals. The *trato* of a person of either sex who has lived much in Madrid may be detected in a moment. There is little to be seen which cannot be equally well observed, with greater ease, and comfort and facility, in any other great city of Europe. The aim in society is to introduce every thing new in style or manners, and there is little really Spanish in the place, excepting the *prado* and the *plaza de toros*. The most frivolous importations, in dress and manners, are daily taking place, and their assemblies are vapid copies of Paris and London. The system ridiculed by Addison of bringing puppets dressed in the fashion of the day from France, is even outdone here, the modern discovery of lithography having superseded the more cumbrous ancient mode.

In a city constituted as this is, a stranger can have little chance of making way. He has neither lever nor fulcrum to work with, and the accounts of those must be received with caution, who pretend to give an account of society, which it is next to impossible to penetrate. The society is at present confined to domestic or small circles, with

scarcely an exception, and I have heard that being intimate with foreigners was looked upon suspiciously by the late government. There are no literary circles, and the persons from whom information is sought, must be seen in private. At every step, a foreigner meets with vulgar and ignorant prejudice, the natural result of want of intercourse on the part of people, many of whom believe themselves and their desert superior to every other country, and think a stranger honoured by being allowed to exist in it. The unfortunate circumstances of the times aggravate these difficulties; literature and science cannot be said to exist but in a most limited degree, and are in little estimation, where the mass of society is uneducated, and unconscious of the defect.

The individuals who are exceptions to this rule are in too small numbers to affect society, in which they do not move, and those who would naturally wish to favor strangers, and impart or acquire information, are mostly in exile. The same prejudices extend to the diplomatic bodies in a still greater degree, and they live like the Europeans at Pera, forming a caste apart. There is, however, no reluctance on the part of the natives to partake their hospitalities, or solicit their assistance if it can serve them.

So far different are they from the rest of the world, whose manners in this respect are not imported with what is frivolous and useless, that a common answer to applications for the admission of foreigners to spectacles, or other places where permission is required, and where, in all other parts of the world, they are readily permitted and gladly seen, is, "Spaniards have been refused, and if foreigners are admitted, offence will be taken."

So far is this illiberal feeling carried, that I have known instances of refusal, where the being a foreigner

was the sole cause of objection, and no rank or situation of native was any ground of exclusion. Strangers are told these things with the greatest frankness, and the most certain conviction, that they must see the propriety of the distinction.

The royal Museum of Paintings is on the whole, beyond all question, the first in Europe, and contains the greatest number of good with the smallest admixture of bad, of any of these establishments. It is composed of the works of all schools which formed the royal collections, and were dispersed in the various palaces.

The whole of these, which were judged worthy of it, without exception, have been given up to the public curiosity with a regal liberality which reflects the highest honour on the late king, the more so, as he was understood to take great interest in these splendid appendages of the monarchy.

There are four rooms, parallel to each other, and connected by a gallery of about three hundred feet, in the style of the better part of the Louvre, which runs through the centre. The Italian paintings are at present placed in it, but it is said they are to be replaced by those of the national schools, which are at present in two of the side rooms, two others being occupied by those of the Flemish and Dutch masters, which have lately been placed in them. These four rooms are each about one hundred and fifty feet in length, by about thirty-two in breadth, with proportional height, and for the purposes of exhibition, are certainly the best rooms in Europe. As far as proportion and distance are concerned, and the number of paintings occupied by each, they are perfect, and the advantage they possess over the Louvre, or the gallery at Dresden, or any of those in Italy, can scarcely be imagined. They are sufficiently large for the purpose of

grandeur, without the eye being distracted, or the lights clashing and interfering with each other, as it constantly happens in the larger galleries. The only defect in these noble rooms is their being lighted from the ends and sides, instead of the upper part; which proceeds from their not being originally intended for this purpose, but for the Museum of Natural History. It might be easily remedied, by sacrificing an attic, which I believe only contains servants' apartments, and closing the side and end windows, when these rooms would be perfectly unrivalled. The evil is aggravated at present, by their considering the ends of the rooms as posts of honor, and placing the portraits of the Kings and Queens of Spain, which are the finest works of Velasquez, in lights where it is impossible to enjoy them. The general entrance is through a portico into a circular vestibule, with eight noble Ionic columns of granite, and a dome roof, the whole being about sixty-six feet in diameter, of the purest execution and proportions, which may vie with any thing, ancient or modern. The Spanish schools are incomplete in the series, and many important masters are wholly wanting, these collections being almost exclusively formed of the works of artists employed by the court. The principal who are to be found, are Murillo, Velasquez, Juanes, Morales, Cano, Ribalta the elder, Ribera (Spagnoletto), Zurbaran, Roelas, Pereda, Orrente, Juan de Toledo (el Capitan), Cerezo, Mazo, Espinosa, Villavicencio, Valdes the elder, Collantes, Pareja, Palomino, Marc, Pantoja, Caxes, Coello, Sanchez Coello, Escalante, Blas del Prado, Antonio Castillo, Leonardo, Tobar, Arias, Pacheco, Castello, Muñoz, Navarrete, etc.* [The negative list is very numerous. Moya, Cespedes, Raxis, Mohedano, the two Rizi, Luis de Vargas, Carreño (of whom there is

* See the names of these artists, who chiefly belong to the school of Castile, and the works of several of them, are only seen here.

no good specimen), Luis de Tristan, and many others of great eminence in all the schools. The whole of that of Granada, excepting Cano, is wanting, and many of those of Seville, Valencia, and Cordova.

The Italian school contains Raphael, Julio Romano, Titian, the Caracci (principally Annibale), Paolo Veronese, the finest Bassanos in existence, Pordenone, Tintoretto, one of his most curious pictures, giving an inside view of the Sala di Dieci, at Venice, with the council seated, finished like a Dutch painting, all the personages being portraits: Salvator Rosa, the Poussins, Luca Jordano, Guido, Lanfranco, Sacchi (one of his best pictures) and some others. The finest on the whole are the Titians. The equestrian portrait of Charles the Fifth, in armour, on horseback, with his lance, stands in the first rank, and has probably never been equalled. The monarch is aged and care worn, and appears to be ruminating on his past life and future prospects, as he might have done on learning the secession of Maurice, and the final failure of his long-cherished schemes. It has been under the hands of the restorers, and is badly placed, in a site allotted to it as a post of honour.

In the Flemish and Dutch schools are chiefly found the works of Rubens, Vandyck, Teniers (extremely numerous), Snyders, Rembrandt, and some of inferior artists.

Some of the finest works of Rubens and of Titian, and other Italians, are excluded from these rooms, from a fastidious and mawkish delicacy about the subjects, some of which are not at all objectionable. In the *piezas reserbadas*, as they are termed, Rubens may be seen in his glory, with his imagination heated by the recollection of Flemish beauty, which is shown in all its luxuriance, as if he meant to exhibit the contrast with the cleaner, and darker, and more muscular forms of the Spanish fair.

The worst part of this noble institution is a gang of restorers, who are established below, and carry on their processes, which the Spanish writers justly term, *horroroso* and *espantoso*, with a zeal and indefatigable energy worthy a better cause. Every picture in the gallery seems destined to undergo their discipline, and neither age nor school escape their merciless grasp. They appear to view the inestimable productions which are successively doomed to pass through their hands, with the same indifference a school of anatomists have for the "subjects" brought before them.

Their methods seem to injure the Venetian pictures more than any other, and a mode of disturbing the surface, and then glazing and substituting varnishes of their own, completely alter the appearance of them, and would astonish the artists, if they revisited the earth, and saw their productions. There are pictures painted completely over, and the celebrated "glory" of Titian, a large allegorical picture belonging to the Escorial, and one of his finest works, when I left Madrid, was approaching the close of operations which would scarcely leave a touch of the master uncovered.*

A worthy individual, who is the chief in this species of industry, inserts his name on the back of some of the paintings he has manufactured; like another Eratosthratus consigning himself to immortality with the artist who is so deeply indebted to him, for disfiguring his works.

* It may be necessary to observe that the collection of the Escorial, which includes the Perla, and Tobit, and Visitation, of Raphael, and some other works of the first order, the whole amounting to sixty, are not included in this list. They are chiefly Italian, and are the gift of the crown to the monks of that place, who have the entire charge and management of them, and although it is a royal residence, they are not in fact the property of the crown, but by the peculiar arrangement of Spain, belong to the corporation of the convent.

Thus in one of his last performances, the *restauracion* of the Jubileo de la Porciuncula, a large painting of Murillo, formerly in the church of the Capuchins at Seville, is inscribed in enormous letters at the back, "This work of the *immortal* Murillo was *restored* in such a year by ———."

If these proceedings be not stopped, these magnificent galleries will exhibit a very different appearance in a few years. Every time I returned to Madrid some favorite had been removed, and the fatal "*Esta en la restauracion*" was appended in its place.

There is a Gallery of Sculpture, ancient and modern, of which the last is the most interesting. The antique contains few even tolerable specimens, and none pre-eminent. The works of Leoni are the best of the modern school, and the group of Alvarez, an artist lately dead, which represents Hercules and Lychas, a colossal group, the principal figure being nearly in the attitude of the Milo of Lough. The whole school of Spanish sculptors is wanting in this collection, which is quite recently formed, and it is to be hoped means may be taken to exhibit the most beautiful series of national art any country can boast.* A group has lately been placed there of a style neither antique nor modern, nor of any of those described in the sculpture of Spain. You are told it is meant to represent Daoiz and Velarde, the two officers of artillery, who refused to give up their guns to the troops of Murat, and whose murder at their posts was the signal of the commencement of the war of independence. It was executed at Rome, of very bad Carrara marble, and brought here at a vast expence, whilst better marble, and far better sculptors, are to be found in the country; and a large sum was expended in the useless task of celebrating men, whose names will perish

* A beautiful statue, of Leoni, is of course excepted, as he was a foreigner.

only with the records of their country, whilst almost every one who bore a distinguished part in that war, was under proscription, or in exile, or had perished on the scaffold by the acts of those who planned this monument.

The Academy is a separate establishment, with the regular organisation of those bodies as in the rest of Europe. It cannot be said that it has been the means of advancing the art of painting, which has declined regularly since its institution, and is now at its lowest ebb. The sculpture is much better, and several public works, now in hand, are respectably executed; the government very properly expending more on this, which seems a national art, than on the decayed sister branch. The most useful part of this institution is the superintendence of all public works and improvements, in every part of Spain; by which regulation the edifices, both public and private, are much more regular, and have better elevations, than in the epoch previous to its formation, at the commencement of the last century. There are a number of paintings of the old Spanish masters at the academy, besides the usual proportion of copies, studies of admission, &c., amongst which, those of amateurs are allowed, and some names of the first rank in Spain, are found among them. At the head of the ancient school are two semicircular pictures of Murillo, formerly at Seville, and the Santa Isabel belonging to the Caridad in the same city, which was in the gallery of the Louvre. There are other interesting specimens, which ought to be removed to the general gallery. In the list of these masters are Orrente, the elder Rizi, Cabezalero, Zurbaran, Cespedes, Cerezo, Pereda, Carreño, Antonio de Castillo, Herrera the elder, Esteban March, the Polancos, Viladomat, Pacheco, Antolinez, Bocanegra, and some others, most of whom are wanting in the royal museum. One of the most remarkable acts of this academy, was the

refusal to admit, to honorary rank a distinguished foreign artist, who resided some time lately at Madrid. The being inscribed as a Spanish academician could add nothing to the fame of one whose name must descend to posterity in the first rank of those who have adorned this period; but the refusal to grant it, on the ground of inferior claims, reflects little honour on a body who do not enumerate a real painter among them, and it was made the more ridiculous, by the absurd and fulsome compliments lavished daily upon him, by the very persons who refused the nomination.

The many excellent engravers, who lived at the end of the last century, are now reduced to a very small number. Amettler, a Catalan, is living, but is very old. Esteve, who was an élève of Selma, is now the best. He is engraving the Moses striking the rock, by Murillo, which is in the Caridad at Seville. The plate is very large, and nearly finished. If the finishing be equal to the design and the execution of what is already done, it will be one of the finest productions of modern art. It has the invaluable quality of preserving the character of the master most perfectly, and the work is of the more interest as I believe it has never been engraved. The design was made by himself, and he has completely seized the manner of the painter. He is working under an idea too rare in the present day, of leaving a monument of his skill, to after times. He is unfortunately portrait painter to some of the royal family, which occasionally diverts his attention from this interesting work. The reprinting the classic Spanish literature is carried on with some activity, and the academy are understood to be preparing to publish the romances and other works which are out of print. In general, these editions are of inferior execution, and far below those of the last generation, by Ibarra and others. Great numbers are exported to the ancient colonies, otherwise few works

would repay the expense of publishing, in the present state of Spain. A number of translations, of little elementary works on education and science, are made and making, in popular and useful forms. The works of Sir Walter Scott are in progress, and are as popular as in every other part of Europe. They form a prominent feature of the little literary gossip of Madrid.

The royal Library, which is placed in a convent near the palace, is a noble establishment, admirably conducted, like every thing in Spain when they once determine to set about it. Every facility and comfort are afforded to the numerous readers. A revision of the index, which excludes many of the finest productions of general literature is most desirable, and it is lamentably deficient in books of reference for the natural sciences. The absurd jealousy with which books are watched at the frontier, is a serious evil to foreigners, and by far the greatest inconvenience they are subjected to. I had once the greatest difficulty in extricating the few books of reference on natural history which I carried with me. They were detained from the accident of my not accompanying my heavy baggage at the time it entered, and their release was only effected by private interest being made in a very high quarter, which cut the knot without the endless delay of waiting until it was unloosed.

The Armoury contains some of the most beautiful specimens probably in Europe, especially of the *cinque cento*, or the fine time of Benvenuto Cellini. A catalogue raisonné is very much wanted of this princely collection.

The Museum of Natural History remains much in the same state which has made it so long the subject of complaint. There are interesting and even splendid individual specimens, but without connexion or system, and often of

unknown localities. It is just in the state, as to utility for purposes of science, that the British museum was a few years since, from which it is at length slowly emerging. We therefore must not be hasty in censuring the managers of a country so unfortunate in financial means as Spain. At present it serves as a lounging place on certain days for the Madrileños. A chair of mineralogy has been added, which promises to be the best and most useful part of the establishment. Lectures on the theory and practice of mechanics, are given in another place, by an able and well known professor, and on chemistry applied to the arts.

At present the administration of mines is decidedly the best organised of any of their institutions, and promises the greatest advantages to the country. They have an excellent laboratory, and every facility is given to try the productions of the districts which contain these precious deposits. An opinion prevails, however, that in the atmosphere of Madrid no establishment can flourish permanently. Like the canker in certain soils, which destroys every tree, there are processes, said to be in constant operation, capable of ruining and destroying every foundation. It is to be hoped this may prove to be an exception.

There was an establishment connected with the cabinet of natural history, which, if persevered in or revived, might be of great use to the neglected study of natural science. It was for the purpose of preserving animals of all kinds, in which there were some promising scholars, directed by a respectable Frenchman, an emigré of the first revolution. Unfortunately the funds have been diverted to the conservatory of music, or some such purpose, and the works are wholly suspended. The few people who are about the museum are fully employed in preserving the remains of the departed animals of a menagerie in

which the King was understood to take great delight, and no progress whatever is made in other branches.

Unluckily all the most eminent men in Spain quitted their avocations, and embarked in politics, during the *sistema*, which has caused their being banished, and the evils are thus still more aggravated.

The liberality with which all their institutions are opened to strangers is highly laudable, and any one who has occasion to address the individuals who direct them, will find politeness and facility, not exceeded in any part of Europe. One establishment, that of the mines, not being generally open to the public, I conceived it necessary to make private interest to be enabled to visit it. I had addressed several persons, and met with the usual professions which are the current coin of the place, but not one step towards verifying them; at last being wearied by the same repetitions, I went without any letter or introduction, and in an instant obtained all the information I required.

The want of potable water during the summer is severely felt, and various plans, all practicable, excepting that the money cannot be found, have been proposed to remedy this serious inconvenience, where the consumption is so enormous, as in Spain. The same want is seriously felt in the cleanliness of the place, which is far behind that of the Moorish towns in the south.

The canal to connect with the Tagus, is likely to remain unfinished. There are large building speculations, in which the principal investments of capital seem now to be made, and the city will in a few years be very much improved in architectural effect, as every elevation is obliged to be made according to the rules of correct design.

A great mortality takes place in some winters from the endemic, the *pulmonia*, or pneumonia; inflammation of the

lungs, which is often fatal in a few hours. In the winter of 1829-30, it was said that thirty thousand people died; no doubt a great exaggeration. The government denied the number, which they said was overrated, but they did not state the real amount. The air, during the prevalence of the winds which produce this disease, is piercing beyond any thing to be imagined. In an unusually cold period of the spring of 1830, when the air was perfectly clear, and the ground covered with snow, I could distinctly feel the cold of the air in the cavity of the lungs; a sensation I never experienced elsewhere. No doubt the evil is increased by the habit of sitting over the *braseros*, or pans of charcoal, which relax the system, and predispose it for the effect of the external atmosphere. Notwithstanding the piercing cold of winter, and that the reservoirs of the Retiro freeze sufficiently to allow skating, many plants resist the climate uninjured, which could scarcely be expected to do so. The Chinese mulberry, *morus papyfera*, grows to a large size, and the *melia azaderach* thrives perfectly in the botanical garden. There is an instance of the palm growing in a sheltered situation. These trees owe their preservation to the heat of summer and autumn, which enables the wood to be perfectly hardened before they are assailed by the winter frost. The situation of the public garden, which in the spring is a delicious promenade, will prevent it ever being of much use as a botanical repository. The site is badly chosen for the purpose, and the natural soil indifferent; but it was made at a vast expence, and is an ornament to the metropolis. It serves for the purpose of giving botanical and agricultural lectures. The plan of Charles the Third was magnificent in making this garden, which was intended to be combined with the formation of noble cabinets of natural history, worthy the capital of Spain and

the Indies, and were to occupy a range of buildings along the Prado, of which those now used for picture galleries were the commencement.

An improvement of the French has been partly followed up, of clearing the approach to the palace, and making a line of street to connect it with the *Puerta del Sol*, which may represent Charing-cross to London. A new theatre is now erecting on the esplanade of the palace, which is much wanted, but it is too small, and besides an enormous and unnecessary expenditure in the solidity of the walls, is most inconveniently situated for many quarters of the city.

The common building material is grey granite, of good quality, which they work with great facility. This in general forms the foundation, and some ornamental parts; the mass being brick, sometimes covered with stucco. There is no good classic architecture of the best time; none of the great Spanish architects having been employed here. All the good edifices date from the last century, and are chiefly by Rodriguez, Villanueva, and Sabbatini.*

There were an incredible number of paintings in the churches, which disappeared almost entirely during the occupation of the French, but there is still sculpture remaining in many of them. One of the finest paintings of Rubens is in an obscure chapel of the Flemish hospital, where it was allowed to remain. It is a large picture, representing Saint Andrew, exactly in the style of the St. Peter at Cologne. It is dirty, but appeared to me perfectly untouched and uninjured. One of the finest pictures of Cano still remains in a chapel of the church of St. Gines, and a few others may be found in the convents, by different masters, chiefly of the school of Castile.

* See the chapter on Architecture.

The women of all the provinces are seen to the greatest advantage in this general mart, whither they are brought by the various motives of pleasure or amusement, of promoting suits, forwarding petitions, and seeking places, or in the still more difficult task of soliciting pardon for political offences, a constant employment at the time these observations were made. In these various occupations of *pretendientes*, the Andaluzas have long borne away the palm from all competitors, and so established is their reputation in this respect, that the moment the Moorish accent is heard in the antechamber, the suit is considered as half gained. So formidable have they proved in the more serious rivalries of the *sala*, that it is understood a tacit agreement exists in society to exclude them or prevent their exercising those fascinations, which the Castilians, if they boast purer descent, cannot pretend to contend against.

The important office of nurse to the more opulent families, which can not be performed by the inhabitants of the place, and without which their sickly offspring could not be reared, is chiefly supplied by natives of the free provinces, and the Montaña of Santander. They are regularly advertised in the *Diario*, and as they parade their charges in the Prado, their brilliant complexions and luxuriant forms, with the magnificent *trensa*,* attest their fitness for the office, without the necessity of "Personas que la abonen," the usual form of advertisement.

The office of censor over married persons in the upper ranks of society is exercised by the royal person, and complaints of infidelity on either part are listened to with complacency, and, as far as possible, redressed; the offenders

* *Trensa*, the plaited hair hanging down the back, as worn by the women of the north.

being generally ordered, at short notice, into convents, or banished to distant cities. A grandee of Spain was very lately confined in a monastery of the Guadarrama, on the complaint of his wife, for an illicit connexion with an Italian vocalist, who was banished the kingdom, to the great annoyance of the musical amateurs, for bringing scandal on the illustrious blood of a great house. It is said, however, that these complaints are rarely made, and that the usual revenge is retaliation, without having recourse to the supreme court of morality.

There are two principal theatres, which are worked by the same administration, under the Ayuntamiento. There are alternately Italian operas and Spanish plays, with a proportion of the works of the ancient dramatists, which are occasionally brought forward, and afford the only opportunity of seeing any thing national. The *sainetes* are well given, and represent pure and unadulterated pictures of natural common life; the whole scene and actors being produced with a truth and spirit unknown on any other stage.

The cafés are numerous, and are much frequented by the idle portion of the community, who pass hours in them, without the necessity of spending any thing. So regular are the habits in this respect, that if a stranger enter these places, in the day time, he has frequently difficulty in procuring attendance. Before I left Madrid, a miserable *guinguette*, in the worst style of a tea-garden, was opened outside the gate of Alcala, in the most unfortunate situation which could be selected, as there was not a tree or shrub in the vicinity. Half the city went to see the opening, and all ranks were seen crowding to this novel display of rural gaiety, which commences a new era for the capital. The country on the side of the Manzanares is much better

than the other parts, and shows what might be effected by planting and irrigation.

In the spring the scene is varied by visits to Aranjuez, and the number of vehicles in employment sufficiently shows the taste for enjoying that delicious place to be on the increase. The magnificent grounds and gardens, resembling, on an infinitely greater scale, the academic walks of Cambridge, with the eternal verdure, produced by using the waters of the Tagus, would constitute beauty any where, but it is vastly enhanced by the white and dismal country around this oasis. Unfortunately, the profuse irrigation soon produces malaria, and after the solstice it is no longer habitable.

The other *sitios* are also visited, but the Escorial offers little inducement beyond a short visit, and St. Ildefonso is too distant to be within reach of every one. These places, whilst the royal family are resident, are subject to special police regulations, often causing great and useless inconvenience and vexation to individuals, who are refused permission to go there on the most frivolous pretexts. The prohibition of visiting them is also a mode of punishment for minor offences, and it is often inserted in the royal edicts, "under pain of banishment from Madrid and the *sitios reales*."

With the partial exception of Aranjuez which is a thoroughfare, during the period that the royal family are absent from the *sitios*, the buildings are shut up, and the greater part of the population emigrates, in the manner practised in some of the German watering places.

The breaking up, in order to move to the next place, is a curious exhibition, especially at the Escorial, which is the last autumnal residence, and is succeeded by that of Madrid. It is generally known about what time the move is to be

made, but the etiquette is to give very little previous notice, when all is confusion; the road is covered with vehicles of all kinds, and the most motley assemblage of travellers, on horseback and on foot, and in every contrivance circumstances admit. The scene would supply a good pendant to the march to Finchley.

CHAPTER IX.

Bull fights.

IN despite of moralists, economists, Papal injunctions and recommendations, for I believe they have not dared openly to prohibit them; the national sport is continued with a zeal and energy, which increase rather than diminish. It is almost the only sport left to the people; the jealousy of the government or the misfortunes of the times having invaded every other. The only check on their extension is the misery of many cities, which cannot afford the expence, or can only do it at long intervals. The cost of these spectacles is considerable, from the numbers of people who are brought from all parts of Spain, to assist; and the high wages paid to the principal fighters on foot and horseback.

It would appear, at first sight, that the breeding animals, to roam for four or five years in wastes, and to which, so far from approaching the state of domestic utility that constitutes the value of their species, it should be the highest recommendation that they should never have seen the face of man, excepting the *ranchero*, who is nearly as wild as themselves, must be bad economy. Theory would suggest that these noble animals, instead of being immolated in a sport against which a powerful party in every part of Spain has long been arrayed, would be better employed in agri-

cultural labour. The writers accordingly declaimed, and the government, yielding to the clamour, suspended these spectacles for some years. The moral result did not appear, but the calculations of the economists were found most erroneous. So far from oxen becoming more plentiful, and at a more reasonable price, the reverse occurred, and the scarcity of cattle was becoming a serious evil. The reason was this. The breeding of cattle in Spain is a business of great extent, and requires large capital. In these establishments, the calves are sold for one purpose, the cows for another; the bulls are tried, and those which pass as *novillos* in the trial made for the purpose, are reserved for the glory of the *plaza*, whilst those which refuse the lance are consigned to the inglorious office of husbandry. The proportions bred, of course, may be taken at an equal rate of males and females. Of the males, probably, not above one half at the most would stand proof. These were reserved, and, if of good breeds, were sold at high prices, which indemnified the breeder for small gains or losses on the others. The price of a bull of five years old, of the best breeds, is from three to four thousand reals, from thirty to forty pounds. This large sum enabled the breeder to dispose of the oxen at a moderate price, and many found it impossible to live, without the gain resulting in this way, so that the supply of oxen was sensibly diminished, by the loss of the breeding stocks. The consequence was, that in a country where losses are positive and there is no elasticity in the machine, and that where a speculator loses upon one calculation, it is next to impossible he should regain upon another, it was found prejudicial to alter the system; and the advice of those who had always been averse to the innovation, and predicted the bad consequences, prevailed, and the fights were reestablished.

The only parts where the amusement is really kept

up, are Madrid, Pamplona, and the large towns of Andalusia, which country, is in fact, the head quarters of the sport, and almost exclusively supplies the *toreros*. The breeds of bulls are extremely varied, and occasionally rise or fall in value, in the manner of the races of horses, even where the utmost care is taken to preserve them pure and maintain their reputation. The jealousy of mixture is such, that when a bull of the fine breeds is sold to the *impresarios* of the *plaza*, not only a promise is exacted that he shall not be used for any other purpose, but it is usual to return the skin, in order that the owner may be quite satisfied, by the marks which distinguish each herd, that the agreement has been fulfilled, and that the animal has not been changed.

Andalusia is generally considered to produce the best animals, but there are some old breeds in La Mancha which equal, or perhaps excel, the finest of Utrera or Medina Sidonia. There are two or three breeds which are now seldom seen; small, active, compact and *true*, which is a requisite in a good bull. The races which are most esteemed at Madrid are those of Gaviria, rather a small kind and of a deep red with black. The common *manchegos* are a compact, well made animal, with long and very sharp horns, and generally of a brown red. One kind is now extremely rare, which is small, and deep red, but of prodigious activity and vigour. I only once saw this sort exhibited. They are considered to be of the original Spanish breeds.

In Andalusia, there are a great number of kinds. Some resemble the antique bull, with large crest, and fore end, whilst others are compact and clean made like the *manchegos*. One of the best sorts now used, is quite modern, called that of the *barbero*, from the original occupation of the breeder, at Seville; a successor of Figaro, who is making

a large fortune by this strange change from his original profession. The Andalusian bulls have less reputation at Madrid, where all are exhibited, than the breeds of Castile. The amateurs justly remark, that few of the former will stand the pike, or face the horsemen, which is the finest part of the sport. This is caused by the *rancheros*, or herdsmen, in Andalusia being mounted, and in the constant use of the lance, with which they can, by wheeling, and taking him in the flank, throw over the wildest bull instantaneously, in the height of his career. The consequence of this discipline is, they are frequently terrified at the sight of the lance, and seldom face it, whilst the others, being tended by foot men, and rarely seeing a man on horseback, are undaunted in the arena, and fearlessly attack the *pica-dores*. The prejudice in ancient times was in favour of the breeds of Castile, if a Moorish romance be credited, where a bull, on whom every description was lavished, and who was at last killed on the first onset by a Moorish knight at Granada, is stated to be from the banks of the Jarama. The famous race of Gaviria, perhaps the best in Spain at present, are bred in the same district, although they are born in La Mancha. The tending and transporting these animals from one part of the kingdom to another, furnishes employment for a great number of people. There are inconveniences and interruptions in this, like every other occupation. When I was last at Madrid, the bulls which were on the road from Andalusia, were feeding in a miserable pasture, used for the purpose from time immemorial, in a village of La Mancha, when the alcalde appeared at the head of a posse of the elders of the place, and declared they had no right there, and that he would impound or shoot them, if they were not immediately withdrawn. It was a difficult case, and the bulls would have died long before a decision could have been obtained, so that they

were obliged to submit and continue their march. The fact of the bulls being on the way to a royal *fiesta* was of no weight with these authorities, although it was probably pleaded. The tenacity of the *alcalde* to his pasture, was very similar to the feeling of the *posadero* at Sacedon towards the gypsies, for assuredly none but a Spanish bull, accustomed to live through the summer in their *dehesas* could have found food in the common lands of Castile.

The other provinces furnish very few additions to the breeds already enumerated. In Valencia, Murcia, Catalonia, are none of reputation. In Aragon a breed was utterly exterminated in the war of independence, which was reputed to be one of the best in Spain. Those of Navarre are celebrated by the people, who consider them the best in the world. They are full of life and spirit, and bound like deer over the barriers, but their onsets are like the attacks of the smaller breeds of cocks, and do not afford the display of strength of either the *manchegos* or *Andaluzes*, having neither the size nor strength of their larger compeers. They afford variety, however, and are always well received at Madrid. The only kind I know in old Castile, are those of Salamanca, which are powerful, red, heavy animals, but are considered unsafe and dangerous to the *toreros*, and are seldom seen but in their own district. In Estremadura, and in the other provinces not enumerated, there are none that I am aware of, reared for the *plaza*.

The greatest requisite of these animals is activity, which they possess to a degree unequalled in Europe, and only to be found in the open wastes of the southern regions, where they are bred. The leaps they take are extraordinary. They very frequently clear a barrier of near six feet high, with little apparent effort, and without running up to it. I have seen one fly upon the *picador* in the

manner of a lion, and with his bended knees crush horse and rider to the ground underneath his weight, without making any use of his horns. I have observed a bull stand perfectly still for a short time, looking steadfastly at his opponent, then going coolly in, place one horn under the chest and the other behind the horse, lifting him with the rider quite up to the extended length of his neck, and hold them for a short time suspended. The horse came down quite dead, being pierced through the heart; the man fell underneath him, but escaped unhurt.

These animals seldom follow up a successful onset, but frequently appear surprised at the result of their prowess, and turn in another direction. To this circumstance, and that the rider generally falls on the opposite side to the bull, are owing many of their escapes. I have seen a bull transfix the horse behind the saddle girths, producing instant death, and then bear him out on the horn, with the *picador* firmly and coolly seated, into the middle of the arena, a considerable distance; and shaking him off, leave them both. Few bulls are acquainted with the real use of their horns, and of the necessity of turning the head on one side in order to avail themselves of them. The greater part of the escapes of the *picadores* and others are owing to this cause. In most instances, when the man and horse are thrown, the bull merely uses his nose, turning them over, instead of goring them with the points. Some, however, use them with fearful precision. I have seen a bull enter the breast of a horse with the point of his horn, run him backwards against the barrier, and never cease until he fell, dead. They ascertain by smelling, or applying the nose, whether a horse be dead, and seldom touch him afterwards. The profession of bull fighting must be considered a perilous one, yet it is doubtful whether the mortality be greater than in some other hazardous modes of

life. The number killed annually is very small. In a great number of fights I witnessed, in one instance only was a man killed. The safety of the other fighters depends in great part on the chief or leader, and the commanding the bull, or power of drawing his attention to another quarter, is one of the essential and most difficult parts of the profession. This is called *Llamar*, or calling the bull, and by some is exercised in a manner very extraordinary, the wild and furious animal obeying his voice as if instinctively. Their voices seem particularly suited to this purpose. I have often noticed the mode of calling, which is similar to that of addressing the mules, by their name, which has an equally powerful effect on these animals. The voice is condensed or concentrated in a peculiar manner, and seems to proceed from the chest, not being audible at a distance; but, as it were, pitched directly to the animal to which it is addressed. It was said to be next to impossible that any one should be killed whilst Romero was in the ring; from his talent in this respect. The instance mentioned as having happened at Pamplona, where Montes, the matador, gave the bull a violent blow, was a departure from regular custom, only justified by the imminent danger the picador was in, who owed his life to the extraordinary quickness and presence of mind of his leader.

So far from being discouraged, the art is apparently rising in favour, for the late government, who were not over favourably disposed to universities or seminaries, allowed the establishment, for the first time, of a regular college, where the art of tauromachia is taught by rule. It is at Seville, whence most of the corps are produced, and the chief professor is Romero, a man now said to be eighty years of age, and to have killed six thousand bulls, without ever receiving a wound. He is a slight made man, still quite active, with the face of a thorough Gitano,

or gypsy, of which race he is, being a native of the Triana. It is evident that the suddenly suspending these amusements would be productive of great inconvenience and loss to numbers of individuals in all parts of Spain. In the metropolis they answer a double purpose. The money received is paid to the funds of the hospitals, whilst the hospitals receive a large portion of patients from disorders caught at these same representations. Thus a double circulation of money is caused, to the emolument of the possessors of lands in various provinces; the *ganaderos* or attendants on them; the contractors or farmers of the plaza; the bull fighters and numerous assistants, of all ranks, down to the sweepers and waterers of the arena; the sellers of infirm and worn out horses, which have a different end in London and Paris. Finally it helps to maintain various vendors of drugs, of sellers of wax tapers and other funereal apparatus, of grave diggers and chaunters of masses for the departed.

The arguments of the tendency to harden the mind, of these exhibitions, seem more difficult to answer, but it is very doubtful whether they have that effect. Certainly, if it be taken in the mass, no people are more humane than the Spaniards, or more compassionate and kind in their feelings to others. They probably excel other nations, rather than fall below them in this respect. The provinces in which the worst populace is to be found are those where no bull fights are seen, which is the case of the greater part of the Tierra Caliente. At Seville the greatest *aficion* or attachment is found amongst the people, but it is shared in nearly an equal degree in all the towns where it is practised. The famous *encierro* or shutting in of the bulls at Seville, which was formerly practised at dawn of day, and was one of the most curious sights of the whole, now takes place at night, and is no longer permitted to be seen publicly, on account of some disturbance between the populace and the

military on duty, which alarmed the government, the most timid, when the public were concerned, that ever ruled any country. It is a fearful operation for the leader, whose life depends on his keeping his horse ahead of the bulls, which are following at their utmost speed, in a state of the most furious excitement, from the novelty of the scene, and the cries of the rabble around. I have understood the ox which heads the herd is strapped to the saddle of the *ranchero*, and thus forced to keep up with the fleet horse, on which his life depends.

Notwithstanding the prejudice against this amusement, both amongst natives and foreigners, it will always have attractions for a number of amateurs. The antique and now peculiar beauty of a well filled *plaza*, the enthusiasm which excites the audience, where the Spanish gravity is for a time laid aside; the sight of the women who are there in the glory of the national costume, which is still held sacred, in a sanctuary no bonnet or foreign innovation has yet dared to invade; the picturesque variety of the costumes of the *toreros*, and the ancient style of the *alguaziles*, who clear the *plaza*, and assert the superiority of civil to martial law; the inimitable grace and serious gravity with which the salutes are given, and the solemnity with which the whole is conducted, form an *ensemble* which retains its charm long after the novelty has ceased, and separate from the mere object of witnessing the destruction of a few animals, and the disagreeable sights which are constantly displayed in these spectacles.

The arrangements were very different in early times, when there were seldom or never regular amphitheatres; but the Plaza of the town was barricaded for the purpose, and the spectators attended in their windows, as is still practised in many parts of the country, especially in Andalusia. In those times it was the custom for the knights to enter

the Plaza on their own horses, showing their skill and knowledge by attacking the furious animal in the mode best suited to their steeds or their own particular management. From the Moorish romances, it may be inferred that bulls were kept in readiness at Granada, whenever they might be required to celebrate any festival.

CHAPTER X.

Government.

THE extraordinary state of government in Spain, cannot justly be charged on the present generation, on whom has devolved a mass of abuses, transmitted by their predecessors, and aggravated by difficulties and disasters, such as no country in modern times has had to encounter. These abuses descend from the earliest periods; some might be traced to the Visigoths. Very many have been derived in right and uninterrupted succession from the Arabs, whose system is implanted even more strongly than the Norman usages are in England, and are seen woven into the web of society in parts where the prejudice is strongest, and they believe themselves pure and uninfected by them. By far the greatest proportion, however, date from the *Escorialense*, who bestowed the time his father was unable to spare from his other occupations, in reducing the most independent people in Europe to the yoke of the most absolute government. Jovellanos ludicrously compared his mania of governing by one hand, to the management of the mules in a coach by a single driver; and the monarchy, as he bequeathed it, certainly bears no inconsiderable resemblance to the old fashioned vehicles which are exhibited occasionally in the Prado, decked out with gaudy trappings, and other paraphernalia, a century behind the rest of the world.

Many of the curious anomalies in this country have been produced by the endeavour to adjust the yoke to the neck of a people naturally extremely impatient of it, who may very easily be led, but are by no means willing to be driven. From these combinations, a sort of compromise has often been made, and whilst they were allowed to enjoy certain degrees of liberty, progress was made in destroying the rest. Thus it happened that until the invasion of the French, no people in Europe enjoyed, in many respects, a greater degree of practical liberty than the Spaniards, and none depended less, as far as direct interference went, on the government. The taxes were not heavy in general, at least they were not felt, the expences being paid in great part by the money from America, which was circulated, and kept the machine in movement. Each provincial capital was the centre of a system, revolving round its own axis, and borrowing little heat from the general focus at Madrid, with which its connexion was little more than nominal. The subordinate parts of the system partook of the same character, and every alcalde was, as he still in a great measure is, a sort of separate and independent authority, hardly acknowledging any jurisdiction but his own, and with difficulty brought to obey any orders. The same spirit of independence acts in another manner. Where open resistance is impracticable, or unavoidable, a sure and certain mode is devised of effecting it indirectly, by evading orders, procrastinating, and fighting in detail; a guerilla of bureau, consuming interminable periods in replies and rejoinders, and finally wearying out the superior power, or turning its attention to other objects. This is the favourite and almost universal habit of the country. Perhaps from a natural disposition for it, added to habit and experience, few men who have been employed in office are without a talent, which in some cases is very extraor-

dinary. So complete is the system in this respect, and so perfect the organisation, by mutually assisting and conniving at the game of each other, that it is needless for those who have business to transact, to gain merely the chief. They must have the consent of every one, down to the porter of the office, otherwise some obstacle will occur, and their object in all probability be finally defeated. It is one of the besetting sins of Spanish administration. The parties who act thus apparently in harmony and concert are very often the bitterest and most implacable enemies, seeking to undermine and destroy each other; a state of things quite oriental.

As the superiors were not at all disposed to surrender the power which was certain to escape from their hands by employing single delegates, a strange mode has been practised; of neutralising it, by appointing parallel authorities; employing, instead of unity, division to maintain their ascendancy. This secret consists in setting dignitaries of directly opposite qualities to counterbalance each other, and extends to every branch of administration. A bold and intrepid officer is yoked with a cowardly imbecile; a process analagous to the uniting dead and living bodies. Young and old, corrupt and pure, the fiery and intrepid with the slow and timid, are seen in constant contact. All these jarring elements are so poised and adjusted, that nearly the whole force of the machine is consumed in friction, and the smallest possible excess left available for the public good. These causes will explain in part, many of the strange events of the war of independence, and clear questions which are otherwise difficult to resolve. You hear in Spain that this independence of authorities is favourable to liberty, and that centralisation, which has for some time past been the aim of government, favours tyranny or absolute power. It may be in part true, and certainly the centralisation in

France is one of the most durable monuments of despotism transmitted by Napoleon to his successors, and from which the release will be most difficult; but, as far as the reasoning in Spain goes, it is very clear, the species of liberty resulting from such a state of things, is balanced by much greater evils; and if even the maxim were true, which it is not, the same principle on which all society rests, that of surrendering a part to save the rest, ought to apply to this. Of late years, the general government, owing to the operation of these causes, and the difficulties it was placed in, had no alternative but to concentrate on one or two points, leaving the rest nearly unoccupied. The chief of these was the police, and the next, the army, as will be mentioned afterwards in their places. The management of government thus became, in great part, made up as an affair of convention, or understood formalities, carried on in the offices, and so little heeded by those to whom the royal mandates were addressed, that they seldom took the trouble to read them; and the official gazette, the only one permitted, was actually kept up by a forced circulation, all *empleados* of a certain rank being obliged to subscribe to it. The magnificent language, which professes every quality that can be required for human use in the utmost perfection, is preeminent in this. So malleable and ductile is it, that the public acts, which are drawn up by the common scribes of office, cannot be excelled, or hardly equalled in clearness and beauty. They serve little more than to exercise these persons in composition, and for the employment of a few compositors and paper manufacturers. So weak is the real power of government, that the *soberana voluntad* (the formula of office) may be compared to an African river, which bursts in a full stream from its native mountains, promising fertility to distant lands, but soon meets with

sands and deserts, amongst which it is absorbed, and finally disappears.

The civil administration of the cities is vested in the municipalities, who have powers and privileges of most unequal, and in many instances undefined, extent. In no country are these prescriptive powers so strong. The government cannot contend with them, and the regal power of the *Re neto y absoluto*, as defined by the *realistas*, is as nought compared to that of any *ayuntamiento*. Madrid, although decorated with the title of *muy heroica*, is only a villa or small town in rank, and not a city. The reason of this is, that in the latter case, the power of the corregidor would be too great, and would interfere with the royal attributions, which, on their own ground, it is judged advisable to maintain pure and paramount. Every place, down to the smallest village, has its *alcalde*. I believe they are always appointed by the crown, excepting in the free provinces, where they are elected by the people. The authority and consequence of these functionaries is, of course, extremely varied, from the Corregidores of the large cities to the *alcalde* of Orcera and his coequals. In the country the functions are so varied and extensive, that the recapitulation, or reference to them alone, forms a small volume. This complication of statutes, often contradictory, is addressed to people, some of whom can hardly read. The consequence is obvious. The onus is thrown on them, but the real power is in the *escribanos*, or legal advisers, who very often ruin the simple *alcaldes* by their machinations or ignorance. One peculiarity in these offices is, the power given to the *alcaldes* of villages, to settle disputes in matters not exceeding one thousand *reals*, about ten pounds, equal to twenty pounds in England. This is done, I believe, without appeal, and saves a vast

deal of litigation and expence to the parties, whilst it tends still more to keep up local attachments, and the feeling of independence in the community. Some of these people have exhibited, in our days, the spirit of ancient times. In the *patio de los naranjos*, the Moorish court of the cathedral at Seville, is a marble tablet, recording the names of two *alcaldes* of villages in the neighbourhood, who were shot by the French army in the war of Napoleon. These men voluntarily and deliberately submitted to death, rather than give up the names of the parties implicated in an intercepted correspondence, and known to them, respecting an intended rise against their invaders. Yet these are specimens of a province where, by their own countrymen, the people are accused of lightness of character and unsteadiness, and, by foreigners, of fanaticism or ignorance! Many similar instances occurred, but are consigned to oblivion, and it is gratifying to find a similar monument in a place so worthy of containing it.

The *Escribanos*, who figure so much in the economy of Spain, are the representatives of the lowest class of attornies, supposing that a still lower class existed, and had official appointments in the villages in England. In a country, and in a state of society like that we are delineating, it is clear they must play a considerable part. In fact, nothing can be done without them, and they are, not unfrequently, almost the sole authority in a place, capable of reading and writing. Notwithstanding the miserable state of the rural districts, they contrive to make money, and many of them rise from this humble office to much higher places in the state. Their wretched appointments are consequently objects of competition. I witnessed the execution of one at Seville, by accidentally entering the *plaza*, when the capuchins were bawling out the last words for his repetition, announcing to the crowd that they had done

their duty, and that he died in the true faith. He had been superseded in some village in the vicinity, and assassinated his rival.

Little attention has been paid latterly to the hereditary claims of birth in the disposal of public office. In fact, the contrary practice has been followed, and it would appear to have been almost considered inversely. Very few men of high rank in any of the professions were of high lineage, and the feeling was supposed to actuate the late King so strongly, that it was one cause of his popularity in certain classes of society. Amongst the old Castilians, however, these innovations, and the decreasing respect for pure blood, are considered amongst the bad signs of the times.

The system of what is called police, is of very late introduction, as it dates only from the last invasion of the French, by whom it was introduced, and the whole machinery of mouchards, and other abominations, transplanted from Paris. It is a complete exotic in Spain. Nothing can be more foreign to the national habits and character. In the most tyrannical periods of their history they had never been subjected to it, and they were the last people on the continent, who bent the neck to the most detestable tyranny which has fallen on Europe since the middle ages, from which England alone is now free. It seems to have succeeded the feudal and monkish despotism of the dark ages, as if to show that tyranny was inherent in man. It differs from the feudal domination in being a low and vulgar tyranny. So hostile were the Spaniards to its introduction, that they called out loudly for the inquisition in preference to it. In fact, as far as the public are concerned, it was much the lesser evil, and more victims have been sacrificed, and infinitely more real oppression exercised by it, than the holy tribunal could have effected in these times in a much longer period. The

police is, in fact, a political inquisition, a dreadful and almost irresponsible tribunal, before which every man was liable to be summoned, and no one could retire to his bed, during the time of Calomarde, with the certainty of passing the night unmolested. It has succeeded with the vigour of youth, the decrepit and decaying tribunal of the faith.

The Inquisition, which at one time justly enjoyed its true reputation, had long ceased to be more than a name, as far as the great mass of society were concerned. The conditions of taking the sacrament once a year, of avoiding scandal in morals, and of abstaining from attacking any part of religion, or the privileges of the clergy, were sufficient to keep on good terms with it, and to remain unmolested. The prohibition of certain books was little real evil to the majority of society, and the permitted literature satisfied the greater part. More liberty of writing was allowed, fifty years since, than is in our days, or was in the time of Napoleon.

The office of police is, in many instances, superior and paramount to all others, military, civil, or ecclesiastic; the powers being derived, in the times we speak of, directly from the chief or apostolic branch of the government. In the fortresses and places of war, the duty frequently devolved on the military commandant, who united that with his own and several other functions; but in no instance, that I am aware of, was it given to the Captain general, apparently, because it would have given too great power and unity of action, and would have been a departure from the favorite maxim of Spanish administration, *divide et impera*, over their subordinate officers.* The dreadful history of Torrijos elucidates the manner in which these functions were mixed up. Previously to that, which closed the feeble

* See the chapter on the Army and Captain general.

attempts in the south, there had been another display of it. After the failure of the attempts of Mina and others on the French frontiers, and in Galicia, all appeared quiet, and it was announced in the gazette, that all the Peninsula, Portugal being at this time under the protecting egis of the Apostolic government, and generally mentioned as part and parcel of the whole, enjoyed "*incomparable tranquilidad*." At this instant all Andalusia was on the point of breaking out in open insurrection. The assassination of the Governor of Cadiz was the first signal which roused the sleeping authorities, on the reports of whom this precious proclamation had been issued and the government believed every thing to be quiet. A show of vigour was then attempted, in order to make up for former supineness and neglect. The Captain general had previously reported what was going on, of which all the particulars were in his possession. The characteristic answer to his report was to require him to give up his authorities, who would have been treated as accomplices. This he peremptorily refused to do, and during the discussion the plan was ripening, and nearly succeeded. They accordingly proceeded to arrest, in the towns near Cadiz, every rank and class of persons. No distinction was made, and the blind god appeared to have presided at the issuing the mandates. All who were thus arrested, were ordered to Seville, and I happened to be lodged in the posada, to which, by the interest of the landlord with the police, they were directed. Successive arrivals took place, of persons who had been taken from their homes, without a shadow of crime being alleged against them, or any steps taken to investigate their cases. They were ordered to banishment, many to Estremadura, and some to Oviedo, a month's journey. Several were people whose families depended on their daily exertions for their support. The quiet, patient, and cheerful de-

meanour of these persons was very striking, and every assistance and sympathy in the power of a humane people, was given by their friends and acquaintances. The Captain general interfered as much as he could do, and softened the fate of many of them. Most fortunately it happened that this dreadful power had been conferred on an individual, who was equally stupid and ignorant, as he was reckless of the liberty of his fellow citizens.

When the cases were examined, it was found, not only that they were innocent, I believe, without exception; but that most of them were tried men, capable of standing the severest ordeal of purification. They were accordingly allowed to return by degrees to their homes, whence they had been thus unjustly torn. It was at the period these transactions were going on, that Jose Maria was robbing in sight of Seville during the whole day, proving, if necessary, that "police" was merely a political machine.* When every thing was restored to tranquillity, it became a question how to dispose of the individual who had caused these excesses to be committed. The allowing him to retain the situation of *subdelegado* at Xeres, in which capacity he might repeat the operation, and endanger the tranquillity of the province, was out of the question, and his forced removal would not have suited the views of the government, to which he had given such proofs of zeal and devotion. The course was accordingly adopted, so well known in Spanish administration. He was appointed to the same situation as he held; at Seville, and as it was a nominal promotion he could not refuse it. It gave him apparently more power; but, in reality, by placing him under the eagle eye and talons of the Captain general, he was rendered powerless, and annihilated. I was at Seville

* See the chapter on Robbers.

when he made his appearance, not at all to the joy of the inhabitants. His fame had preceded him, and I saw some of his official visits paid. I happened to be present when he was invited to dine with the Captain general. This was equivalent to an *order*, which he durst not refuse, but he never tasted any thing during the whole repast, recalling traditional stories of past times in the navy : a strange sight at a *convite* in Spain, and in a very hospitable house, showing very strongly the situation he stood in with the firm and fearless chief of the province. Another instance came under my own observation, of the distribution of these powers. I arrived at Puycerda, in Catalonia, in 1830, intending to enter on that side, in company with my friend Mr. Lyell, to visit the district of Olot. The place is a kind of fortress, with a small garrison, close to the frontier, on the upper Segre. The alcalde was a Carlist of tried strength, and had long been the detestation of the whole province, to which he was perfectly known. I soon found there were obstacles about signing my passport. In the interviews I had with him, he gave always as a reason for delay, that he had not received the necessary "orders" to do so. As there was no paramount authority, the military commandant declaring that he could not interfere, it was clear from whom the instructions came. It was from a "comité directeur" of priests, one of whom appeared at the last interview, and questioned me himself. They conceived from my accent differing from that of the rude natives around, that I was not a foreigner, and that I was an emissary of Mina, who was on the other frontier. Their dastardly fears, for their hair stood on end when they spoke of him, were the only excuse for this conduct; and they were so far right, that, if he had succeeded, in all probability the alcalde would have been made an example of, as he merited. He fell under the fatal displeasure of the

Captain general of the province, whose passport I had, having been so imprudent as to state, that he was independent of his authority. This miserable *junta* completely prevented my entering Spain at that point, and had I not been cautious to remain on the French side of the frontier, after I obtained information that it was no longer safe to pass it, I should have been arrested.

When these observations were commenced, the system was not universally introduced, and I witnessed the first attempt to do it, in a remote place of upper Aragon, which it was reaching like the "invisible and creeping wind." I was lodged in a private house, and the military commandant of the fort sent to know, who the stranger was. The answer, which I heard given, was firm and respectful, that he had no jurisdiction in the place, and that it only concerned the civil authorities. In a few months, however, an order came, constituting the same person chief of the police of the district. The passports of the military are signed daily by their respective chiefs. It was a great advantage to a traveller, when he could pass under their authority, on account of the greater regularity and celerity of dispatching business; but, latterly, after the revolution of July, it was no longer practicable, peremptory orders being issued that they were, without distinction, to be subordinate to the general police.

The manner in which the police system has taken root is a decisive proof of the aptitude of the Spaniards to second an active government, and the vigour and activity of its administration would astonish any one acquainted with the usual mode of conducting Spanish affairs. From the nature of it, and from the existence of the government depending on it, the more unintelligent, and in fact the refuse of society were those in general entrusted with the exercise of its awful powers. In theory nothing could be more ar-

bitrary than the laws. Every person, without exception, was compelled to take a *carta de seguridad* to prevent being arrested in his own house, and when he travelled ever so short a distance, to take a passport, which must be signed every day, whilst he was moving; the residence in places being accounted for by the dates of arrival and departure. Any deviation from this rule was punished by a heavy fine for every day that was deficient. This was levied by the next office, summarily, and without appeal, and the employment of the clerks was to compare the dates, and search back for any defalcation. I knew an instance of a poor muleteer being fined sixty dollars for accumulated arrears of this kind. It is needless to observe that the whole system of *cartas de seguridad* is borrowed from the French. Every thing, to the miserable extortion of a few sous for a provisory passport, at the frontier, under the pretence of sending the real one to Madrid, is adopted from the same quarter, where the successive changes have had no effect in wiping off this stigma on a country like France. So far is it from being abated, that it increases, whilst, under Charles the Tenth, it had reached its minimum of intensity.

So far from this daily inspection operating against travellers who have nothing to fear, I am satisfied it is an advantage to them. By constant repetition it becomes a mere form. The mode it is frequently exercised in the *posadas* is by a character coming in in the evening, with an inkhorn, who takes his seat in the kitchen, amidst the cooking and other apparatus, going through the ceremony, to which grandee and beggar must alike submit. In places where there is only a single house, the *ventero* signs, and there is even a form prescribed to be followed when the night is unavoidably passed in *despoblados*, and no signature can be obtained, as it happened to me in the Sierra

de Segura. The correctives to the exercise of this engine were, the slowness and stupidity of the organs employed; the strong and invincible repugnance of the people to it; the corruption of it in common with every other branch of administration, and the mutual deference and respect to each other, held by every class of Spaniards, on which the national manners are based. From this last cause, customs which are common in France, would not be tolerated in this country. No *gens d'armes* would for a moment be permitted to go round a table where people were dining, with their hats on, and sabres clanking in the disgusting manner which is increasing rather than diminishing in France. I had more real trouble with the police, in ten days, between Dieppe and Bayonne, than in Spain, during as many months. Strangers are perhaps less troubled with it than the natives, at least those who have no suspicious appearance, or have not by their imprudence committed themselves with the authorities. The rank of a British officer is a powerful recommendation, and I found it infinitely better than travelling *en bourgeois* which I at first tried. I have repeatedly been excused personal attendance where the law was very severe, by merely sending a civil message to the *subdelegado* to say, that I was ready to do so if he required me, but that otherwise I begged to be excused. In the capital, personal attendance is generally indispensable, especially if permission is asked to go to the *sitios*, whilst the royal family are in residence; and much vexation to individuals was caused by impertinent enquiries and delays frequently interposed under frivolous pretexts; but strangers are little subjected to these inconveniences. At the commencement of the system the plan was adopted, borrowed from the French republicans, of appointing chiefs of inspection to towns and districts. A part of their duty was to become per-

sonally acquainted with the parties under their *surveillance*. One of these functionaries, soon after taking command, sent a civil message to a lady of my acquaintance to say, that in the course of duty he must pay her a visit, and begged her to fix the time. This was accordingly done, and after a very polite interview, he told her that he was quite satisfied, and that to make her entirely easy, he should send her a copy of his report to government, which stated, that she was a perfectly good subject, and that nothing should be believed to her prejudice. She was of course highly satisfied, and took every opportunity of lauding the liberality of the party. A few months afterwards he was removed, and the people in the office being changed, a friend of hers was appointed to fill a situation in it. By accidental conversation on the subject, this person told her she had been completely deceived, and that the report she had seen was pseudo, and not the real one, of which he gave her a copy. This document set forth, that she was a most dangerous person, capable not only of exciting a city, but of setting a whole province in flames, and that no vigilance could be too great in watching her motions. So far he was correct, that she united solid education and knowledge with the grace and fascination of Andalusia, and might, if she had chosen to exert her talents, have effected mischief to a cause to which scarcely any Andaluza has any predilection; but this oriental mode of dealing reflects little honour on the individual. This transaction might be supposed to be drawn from the archives of the empire, so exactly does it resemble some of the proceedings of that period. The kind of talent possessed by the individual who conducted this operation was too valuable to be overlooked by Calomarde, and he rose rapidly to one of the highest offices in Spain.

THE ROADS.

MORE has been done in Spain since the peace, considering the means of the government, and the local difficulties, in improving the old and in making new roads, than in any country in Europe. If the present system be persevered in, of which there is every probability, as all parties are equally desirous of doing so, in a few years, every principal place in the country will be made easy of access. The great line of road, between the capital and Bayonne, has been entirely remade, and is now equal to most in Europe. The branch from Burgos to Valladolid might be supposed to be made by Mc Adam. Another branch to Santander is now open, after very great exertion. There is a tolerable road from Vittoria to Bilbao, with a branch from that city directly to the great line of Madrid; another shorter line is also constructing, and there is a communication with Castro, a small town on the coast, between Bilbao and Santander. A coast road, or longitudinal line, to connect the northern provinces, is entirely wanting. At present the lines are all lateral, leading only from the interior to points on the shore; and the numerous estuaries and rivers form strong impediments to the construction of better communications in countries so poor and thinly peopled, and at present, almost without commerce. From Tolosa, on the great road to Madrid, there is a communication with Pamplona, Zaragoza, and Barcelona by diligences and canal, making the line of the Ebro complete. The new road from Vittoria to Pamplona, which has been made at a vast and unnecessary expence, from the profuse manner in which *the metal* is laid on, is at length nearly com-

pleted, and was expected to open for carriages in the autumn of 1832.* The road which connects Barcelona and Madrid by Zaragoza is open, and some details only are wanting to complete it. This is become the favorite communication of the metropolis with the Catalan capital, and is very much frequented. The roads in Catalonia are excellent, and are extending wherever the policy of the military authorities has permitted it; for there are districts where there appear to be reasons for preventing, as much as possible, an invading army from having facilities to penetrate. The roads in Valencia are tolerable, but in the vicinity of the capital, are very much injured by the habits of the peasantry in taking off the surface for manure or compost. The new line to connect that city with Madrid by the shortest and best line of Cuenca, instead of proceeding by La Mancha and the Puerto de Almanza, is slowly proceeding to completion. A road is partly made to connect Xativa, on the plain of Valencia, with Alcoy, Alicante, and Murcia, but was, when I passed it, suspended, from a difficulty about passing through some place, and the government have since offered a premium for the best plan of a new line by the coast. The road from Murcia to Granada is practicable for carriages, but with difficulty in the rainy season, and requires a great deal of improvement. Granada is the centre of an important part of the kingdom, which has hitherto been left in the greatest neglect, the steps which were taken in the times of Charles the Third and Fourth, to improve it, not having been followed up. At present it participates in the general move, and in a few years will be as accessible as most other parts. The line to Madrid, through Jaen, is complete, with the exception of a few miles

* It was finally opened in the spring of 1833.

from the latter place to Baylen, where it meets the great road of Andalusia. It does the highest honor to the engineers, and is as well made as any road in Europe. *Ventas* and *posadas* are still wanted, and escorts will be very useful, when the diligences begin to circulate. The constructor of this road, and of that from Burgos to Valladolid, which equal the best roads in the world, is an officer of engineers, who is at present superintendent of the canal of Castile, whose talents promise to make him of the greatest use to his country. A contract has recently been made, I think by Remisa, to complete this road, and those which connect Granada with Motril, the nearest point on the coast, and Malaga, the route to which is hardly practicable for carriages during the rainy season. A road ought to be made from Velez, along the coast, to Motril, as also from Velez to Granada. Malaga has only two carriage outlets at present; a magnificent road by Antequera, which is the direct Madrid communication, through Ecija; and that to Granada, which is carried through Colmenar. A line is imperiously called for from Malaga, to communicate with Cadiz, Seville, and Lower Andalusia through Ronda, the whole of which valuable country is hardly accessible. Jealousy of the *plaza*, as Gibraltar is emphatically termed in that part of the country, as the fortress "par excellence," may have occasioned there having been no steps taken to open this district. The routes in Estremadura are badly kept; and after the severe floods in the spring of 1831, the communication across the Tagus was cut off for some time, except by boats; the bridge of Almaraz never having been repaired since the war of independence, although magnificent pine-forests are close at hand. I crossed in a kind of raft, at considerable risk, the diligences remaining on their respective sides, and in a *posada*, where we slept, were *galeras* full of passengers, who had passed fourteen

days waiting for an abatement of the flood, which was still increasing.* The roads to Galicia and Asturias are in great part complete, excepting across the lower part of old Castile, which will be a work of great expence, and cannot yet be undertaken. A vast amelioration has taken place in the management of these improvements. They are now executed entirely by contract, by which means government are enabled to provide exactly for the demand, and proportion the quantity of work to the means they have of paying for it. The most minute parcels are thus advertised in the papers, and let to the best bidder. Formerly this was impossible; when a sum was ordered to be expended on a public work, it was assailed by a swarm of pillagers, as the wasps assemble on a sunny day around fruit or honey suddenly exposed, or as vultures wind a carcase lately killed, and assemble from the distant regions of the air, who soon shared it out, leaving only the skeleton to attest the banquet having taken place. This is the chief reason for the country abounding in unfinished monuments; not that the genius soared above its means of completion, as has been supposed, but because the corruption made it impossible to execute any plan, however well imagined.

The progress which is made in these enterprises can only be adequately appreciated by observation of the difficulties attending it from local impediments. The population is so thinly scattered, and so fully employed in most parts of the interior, that it is a matter of extreme difficulty to collect hands to work in the despoblados. The people are unaccustomed to the kind of work, which has not been practised for a long period, and in many parts never at all; and the materials have often to be carried great distances. These difficulties in many parts would be insurmountable,

* I was informed, when leaving Spain, that the bridge of Almaraz had been repaired.

but from the system of employing convicts, which is now very general. They are sent in large bodies, and temporary barracks built in central situations, where the *impresarios* maintain them, according to agreements made with the government, until the work is completed, when they move to another place.

As soon as the lines of road are practicable, diligences are set in motion upon them, a work of no small difficulty at first. Those who have traversed the interior of Spain, and know the *ventas* and *posadas*, will judge of the labour of establishing accommodation for twenty or thirty persons in one of these places. Not only eating, but beds and all other necessities are to be provided, as it is a standing rule in Spanish diligences to sleep at night. The first thing done is to dispatch a light carriage to try the road, and ascertain the probable time of its being practicable for the heavier vehicles; then *mayor domos* and other persons capable of instructing the *posaderos* in the mode of arranging the rooms, of cooking, and preparing repasts, and of laying out tables, are sent express. All this must be taught to people previously quite unaccustomed to it, and the readiness and quickness with which they adopt what is new, is highly creditable to the country. The system followed in these diligences is exactly opposite to that in France. In the latter country, as one of their own writers long since observed, a traveller is a bale of merchandize, and the administration care nothing more about him, than to receive his fare, and secure themselves from being called on to pay for the loss of his baggage. These evils, instead of diminishing, are increasing every year, and the communications in the cross roads, and in nearly all the others, are a disgrace to a civilized country. In Spain the first consideration is the procuring every accommodation the country will allow, before any one is invited

to travel in their conveyances ; every minutia is attended to, and the result is a progress in a short period quite incredible, which is affecting the whole system of internal communications. The system is almost universally the same. The passengers are called at a very early hour, when chocolate, or coffee, or tea, which is becoming very much the fashion, is served, according to the inclination of the parties. A portion of the journey is made, and you halt at ten or eleven, sooner or later, as it may be, to dine, as it is termed. This is a regular *déjeuner à la fourchette*. Two hours are allotted to this halt, when you again start, and generally arrive before dusk, after which supper is served. These repasts being provided entirely for the passengers, every one is obliged to pay a proportion, whether he partake or not, unless he spend money to a similar amount in some other way. Whenever the coach stops, the *mayoral* opens the door, and asks if any one wishes to alight. Every thing in these conveyances is on the same uniform system of polite and respectful attention to the company and to each other. To those who have travelled in French diligences, I need not remark the contrast too generally, especially in the south. In one of the last journies I made, the *conducteur* of a diligence from Bordeaux actually prevented the passengers breakfasting ; securing his own selfish meal by stopping the coach on the road, contrary to law.

An individual, a retired officer of rank, named Cabanes, has been the principal instrument in founding this system, which has been followed with the most admirable and indefatigable zeal, and with the most complete success. Of the instruments they had to work with in the first instance, scarcely an idea can be formed. One great difficulty was the finding *mayorales*, or persons capable of taking charge of a coach, in a country where they were quite unknown,

and where the *zagales*, helpers, harnessers, and mules, were all equally novices. The escorts were, and in many instances are still, banditti, who were bought off the road and their occupation reversed. Of the sort of people these sometimes are, an idea may be formed, from a circumstance that happened in a coach in which I was travelling. The mules refused to mount a hill, and there was a momentary pause. A lady, who was in the back division, became alarmed, and opening the door, got out. One of the escort, a reclaimed bandit, who was engaged in urging the animals on, said, in my hearing, with an involuntary motion, which might have led to some such consequence, if he had been the director, "If I had my way, I would shoot any one who left the carriage." They are, however, in general, very well conducted, and in case of difficulty are often of great use. In the winter of 1830, which was extremely severe, I was going from Andalusia to Madrid. We had great difficulty to get through La Mancha, the road being quite broken up, and heavy sleet and snow falling. We only succeeded by the indefatigable exertions of the *zagales*, who ran on foot the whole way, nearly knee deep in mud and half melted snow, urging on the mules with their cheerful and unceasing voices. At the last post before Ocaña, there is a long and rather steep rise, which we reached at night fall. They had not taken the precaution of putting on additional mules, and the regular *tiro* refused to mount the *cuesta*. It was found impracticable to force them, and after some time they determined to send back for a reinforcement. The master of the post sent two mules, with orders to the *zagales*, that if they did not immediately succeed, they were to unyoke the whole and return home. A hard frost with Siberian cold had succeeded the sleet, and the animals and men were half frozen

by the time they returned; accordingly, after a short trial, they gave up the attempt, and quietly returned home, leaving the coach full of passengers to pass the night on the *cuesta*. We took the best plan, as there was no *posada* behind us, and sent on one of the escort to Ocaña for a *carro de violino*, a kind of tilted cart, so named from the mules being separated by a pole across the shoulders, which bears some resemblance to the bridge of that instrument. When this arrived we set out, leaving the coach and our baggage in charge of the escort, who followed some hours afterwards. The master of the post certainly ought to have been punished, but no Spaniard will ever stir in such a business, and they bore it with the cheerful patience, which is the national characteristic, and without making any complaint. The *mayoral*, in this instance, was an imbecile; one of the escort who had been a robber, taking charge and directing every thing.

Besides the diligences, the internal communication is kept up, in a great measure, by the *galeras*, or tilted waggons, which communicate with nearly every town in Spain. They have *paradores*, or houses of call, and are advertised in the *Diario*, like the ancient houses yet to be seen in the city of London, and which are still resorted to by the waggons, once the only modes of conveyance. I had frequently occasion to deal with these people, and invariably found them honest and attentive in the highest degree. In one instance, I was going by a circuitous route to Granada, and dispatched my heavy baggage, which was of considerable value, by a *galera*. I gave it, with the key, in charge of a man whom I never saw before or since, taking a receipt, which was written for him, as he was unable to do so himself. On my arrival at Granada, I dispatched a servant to the place where I was directed for

my trunk. An answer came back; "Tell the *caballero* that he must come in person, and see his trunk opened, that he may be satisfied every thing is right, as it was brought here." It is needless to say, I found it so. The man had returned to Madrid in his ordinary avocation, and had left the baggage in charge of the master of a small inn, where he was in the habit of stopping, in the heart of the city.

LAW.

THE administration of the law is universally admitted to be in the worst state it is possible to imagine, by the continuance of a long period of abuses, which are still constantly increasing. The forms resemble, in some respects, those of our own, such as the Exchequer, and Chancery courts, and some minor ones, with the addition of the grossest venality and corruption. There is a prodigious accumulation of laws and ordinances, which would appear contrived to forward the views of those who live by them; and not those of the suitors. The great courts of Granada, Valladolid, Barcelona, and Santiago are admitted to be so corrupt, that in almost all business of importance, the venue, or decision, is referred to the supreme appeal at Madrid. The engaging in those suits entails a banishment of the parties for years from their native place to the scene of law, as nothing can be done without the personal attendance and perseverance of the individual suitor. The only advantage, if it be one, which is very doubtful, is that the courts are in fact independent of government, who cannot succeed in procuring sentences or condemnations. Amongst the evils generated by their slow and corrupt practice, it

has resulted that government in these times have been obliged to try robbers and political offenders by courts martial, thus introducing a great evil, to counteract a still greater, impunity in crimes. The necessity of giving an appearance of influence to the sovereign, where he in reality has none, probably suggested the strange plan, mentioned under the head of the Military, of making the Captain general president of the *audiencia*.

In civil cases, it is usual for a cause to be protracted until both parties are utterly ruined by the expence, and no more money is to be extracted from them. Then the decision is produced, and they are told, by way of consolation, that the sentence is the most beautiful specimen of law in the world, and that such an accumulation of precedents is making that in future it will be a much more simple business. The great difference between these courts and some in other countries which they very strongly resemble, is that instead of suitors being ruined by the solicitors and counsel, the judges share in the plunder. The sums paid are very much smaller than with us, and the fee paid to a leading Counsel for going "special," a few miles out of town, would keep a whole court in Spain, judges and all, for a considerable time. In the criminal law a similar course is followed, and celerity is extremely rare. A shocking murder took place when I was at Granada. A female servant had two lovers, to one of whom she gave the preference; the other killed the unfortunate woman. It caused a great sensation in the city, but the man might have escaped if he had chosen to do so. He, however, went to walk the next day in the Alhambra, where he was known and arrested by the soldiers on duty. The master of the poor servant, who was attached to her, from her fidelity and affection, took immediate steps, and within a month the

murderer was executed. I heard it remarked that it was too speedy a procedure; so slow are the people, from habit, in judging of these matters!

Whilst I was in Spain, the only causes in general that were promptly managed, were those for political crimes, which marched with fearful rapidity.

The lawyers, in society, have the same social habits as the rest of the community. The judges are not the grave persons, at least universally so, that they are in some countries. I have known an instance of a learned judge going in domino to a masquerade, when it was forbidden to appear in such a costume, and he risked being arrested in the streets, and conducted, possibly before his own tribunal.

The difficulty of reforming the courts of law will be greater by far than that of any other department. The whole bar, and the *escribanos*, with the judges, would unite to prevent it, and they were, I have understood, during the *sistema*, reformers in every thing else but those which concerned their own interests. I have heard heavy complaints against them in the Cortes, where, like the popular assemblies of the old monarchies, before the middle class is formed, as in the first states in France, and those in Hungary, they have too great a preponderance. The habit of pleading gave them great advantages over those unaccustomed to speaking, and I have heard they consumed interminable periods in speeches upon points and quibbles or legal sophisms, then voting according to the bribes they received in many instances, transplanting the corrupt practices of the courts into an assembly where there was not a systematic organisation sufficient to oppose them. I believe a great desideratum, were it practicable, is the digesting the ordinances of the last reign, and incorporating such as are good, which is a small proportion, or to use

the expression, *funding* them, with the regular law of the monarchy, with which they are often at variance.

MEDICAL SCIENCE.

THE state of medical science is extremely low, from the want of resources for study, and of the ancient customs being still rigorously adhered to. Only in the capital, and in a few of the large towns, where they have had a little intercourse with foreigners, can any progress be said to have been made.

As it would be impossible to collect fees, the system in the country is to pay the medical attendant by the *commune*, a certain salary in money, and the remainder in corn, *garbanzos*,* and other articles. In addition to this, they receive gifts from their patients, and the follower of Esculapius may be seen returning from his visits, laden with fowls, eggs, wine, oil, or other articles, in the manner of the capuchins. In one place, as before mentioned, I found the only person who sold bread was the doctor, who supplied the wants of stray visitors, from the superabundance of his stores. The vacant places are advertised in the gazette, and the particulars set forth. Sometimes it is mentioned, “*con obligacion de barberia*,” meaning that he must shave, or provide a deputy, for the public service of the place; the two professions being in the country inseparably connected. I happened once to be under the care of the principal professor in a considerable town. I was shaved by the apprentice, and attended surgically by

* A kind of pulse very much eaten in Spain.

the master. His practice was of the old school. The case was severe, but fortunately nature and patience made skill unnecessary. In the progress of the cure, his custom was every morning to give a kind of lecture to a number of persons, who assembled to see the dressing, and seemed to gather up his words with uncommon avidity. He discoursed of axis and focus of inflammation, of ascending and descending matters proceeding from them, which he seemed inclined to consider rose and fell by their own gravity, and occasionally treated as if they vibrated in the manner of a pendulum. All these he discussed in the style of the ancient schools, recovering himself when he was in danger of being carried away into the depths of science, whither his auditors might not have been able to follow him, and varying his discourse with anecdotes of his adventures. He had been engaged in the retreat of Sir John Moore, of whom he spoke with great respect, and he was quite an object of veneration to the simple people of the place, who considered him a prodigy of learning.

In the south of Spain, an oculist was travelling at the expence of government, performing the operation of the cataract for the public, gratis, with extraordinary skill and success. His name was Plaza, and he was a native of Malaga. He was at Seville whilst I was once there, and it was the fashion to go to see him perform. His arrival was regularly notified, and the people from the villages around were brought to the eye hospital, where he relieved them with a quickness and precision admirable in the highest degree.

Empirics have found their way across the Pyrenees, and no inconsiderable number of panaceas are advertised at Madrid. They are, however, strictly watched by the government, and their progress occasionally regulated by

royal ordonnances. When the cholera was expected, a sudden rise took place in the price of tea and various other articles, which were considered preservatives against the disease. A royal edict was immediately issued to prohibit any price being demanded above the ordinary rates.

The whole of the public colleges and universities are in want of remodelling, and of a better system of study. They were shut up in 1830, in consequence of absurd reports respecting the Polytechnic school at Paris, which it was feared might set the monarchy in a blaze. At a college in a large city where I happened to go in order to see a painting; I arrived as a dominican monk was lecturing on physics. He exemplified the figure of the earth by an orange, which he kept peeling as he advanced. At the close of the double operation, the juvenile auditory made a general rush and almost pulled him out of the rostrum, to divide the spoil, which he gave up with the greatest good humour. The students are seen in costume in the provincial towns, where they wear black cloaks, with a strange cocked hat, giving them a singular appearance, which is a favorite subject for the *sainetes*. Their costume is extremely ungraceful and the stuff it is composed of equally bad in quality, frequently covering rags and tattered vestments, which are turned into the broadest ridicule on the stage. The first act of the new government in 1832, was to reopen the universities, of which the evil of closing them was increased by the allowing the time lost in taking their degrees, the vacant year being included in the regular period.*

* Since these sketches were written, the author has seen in the newspapers an exposé by the new government of the state of seminaries and places of education, which are extremely numerous. There appears in the whole to be provision for 500,000 persons; a great number in a population of twelve millions.

There is no want of common education in Spain, and there are abundance of parochial and other schools. I was informed on the best authority, that of late years, female education is very much improved for all ranks. The late government prevented the means of good education for the upper classes, and at the same time, in instances which came under my knowledge, used the most tyrannical and illegal means to prevent the youth being sent abroad for the purpose.

CHAPTER XI.

On the Clergy.

It is stated in a leading periodical journal, that the number of the Spanish clergy is four hundred thousand, which is more than double what I have heard was its estimate at the period just previous to the war of independence, when every convent was full, and the church in its highest and most palmy state. From whence the author has procured his data, I am ignorant, but it will be seen in the ensuing statement, that it is prodigiously overrated. It is impossible to give the exact number, but if the calculation be correct which made it two hundred thousand at the time alluded to, at least one third may be deducted to approximate to the present number. The same erroneous ideas prevail respecting the revenues of the church, the manners and position of the clergy in society, and their exemption from contributing to the charges of the state.

The clergy form three grand divisions; the upper ranks of the hierarchy, including the archbishops and bishops, the deans and chapters, or prebendaries, which are of two classes, *racioneros* and *canonigos*; second, the parochial clergy; third, the monks.

All these differ most materially as to their situation in society. The upper ranks of the clergy in Spain are, in every sense of the word, gentlemen, in general; although there are occasionally exceptions. I once travelled with a *canonigo*, the only disagreeable companion I ever met with

in the country, who had been a courier to some noble family, and was provided for in this manner; but the general rule is inversely. I have heard that the manners in some universities are superior to those of the others, and that the respective *alumni* may be distinguished by that circumstance.

The same system of administration is applied to the ecclesiastical nominations as to every other branch in the state. The bishops and deans, who have nearly equal power, are, in every instance which came to my knowledge, of quite opposite characters. It occurred too frequently to be the result of fortuitous accident. There is no sort of difficulty in ascertaining the history of these dignitaries, as they are public characters, and in this country, every one who is, to use the expression, above the horizon, is perfectly known to all the more intelligent part of society, from one end of the kingdom to the other.

The vast power of the church is managed with consummate tact and skill. The whole machine is worked by men who are perfectly acquainted with what is passing around them, and rule by conforming and yielding to the general feeling of society, and not by force or dictation. Whatever may be their pretensions in their *cabildos*, or conclaves, they never obtrude them on the public. Cervantes, who cannot be understood without knowing Spain, nor Spain without understanding his immortal pages, and who is to this country what Shakspeare is to us, and Homer was to the Greeks, has given rules for the guidance of this, as for that of so many other stations of life. The inimitable scene of the Duke's chaplain with the Knight, seems to have served as a canon to all time in the manners of the clergy, and all society would rebel against any undue assumption from them.

Amongst so numerous a body as the first class, it may

be supposed there is a great variety of character. In fact they are an epitome of society. In the cathedrals may be found men of habits like the "beau ideal" of early christianity, in its purest and most innocent state, approaching apostolic purity in their manners, giving every thing they possess to the poor, and barely retaining sufficient to preserve their existence. By the side of them, probably in the same cabildo, are men of fire and faggot, who would delight in seeing the *quemaderos** again lighted; and who expend their revenues and influence in fomenting civil war and disturbance at home and abroad. Amongst them are seen poets, linguists, men of letters, and of the most varied acquirements, mixed with the young, the gay, and profligate, who pass their lives in forbidden enjoyments, only going through the form of attendance in the choir. In the difficult task of managing the defence of the serjeants at Vejer, as mentioned under the chapter of military affairs, the person deputed to arrange it was a canon of a cathedral church. He was quite unacquainted with the parties who had entrusted their lives to his management in so extraordinary a situation, and was selected from his general reputation, showing the manner every one is known in this singular country. Amongst the younger members may be seen the gayest examples of society. I happened once to be at a private masquerade, where a character appeared as a *chulo*, or bull fighter, of those who are on foot. The character is as difficult to support in Andalusia, as the most choice "fancy" one would be in England, requiring the utmost skill and dexterity in sayings and repartees. It was perfectly supported, and the person escaped detection, but it was whispered about the next day that the unknown was a *canonigo*.

* The fires of the Inquisition.

Of their private lives there are various accounts for the amusement of those who delight in listening to such recitals, and there is no doubt, nor can it be at all wondered at, that there are irregularities amongst the variety of characters who compose the ecclesiastical body; but they are far from being general. An instance came under my own observation; I called on a dignitary to whom I had a letter of recommendation; he happened to be absent. After the usual preliminary enquiries had been made at the *Reja*, they were repeated to the interior, and I soon heard called out, in the cheerful tone which no one acquainted with the Spanish female voice can ever forget, “que pase adelante.” I was immediately ushered into a regular haram, where the *ama*, or mistress of the house, as they styled her, a young woman of twenty-four, with a child of Herculean make on her knees, was sitting at a *brasero* with some elderly females, whom I supposed her immediate relations, and several attendants waiting, and engaged in different occupations. She was anxiously awaiting the return of the chief of the house, who had been absent for an unusual time, and it was hoped I had information respecting him. After a short visit I retired. In the course of the evening, the master arrived, and immediately called on me. He was rather abashed at first, from my having accidentally seen so much of his Penates, but soon recovered. What he was in his clerical capacity I am ignorant, but he was an active and useful member of society in other respects, and was engaged in furthering agricultural improvements, which his fortune enabled him to do with effect.

In general the feeling of society is tolerant to these irregularities, where scandal is not given, which is very seldom the case, from the vigilance exercised by the body over its members; and ample allowance seems to be made for the difficulty of observing vows and the temptations of Anda-

lusia, Valencia, and other parts. Nothing is more erroneous than to suppose that these practices penetrate into society, or that the confessional is made the means of forwarding their plans. The most vicious members of society in Spain are not so corrupt as to admit such dealings, and it is well known that in every country the tastes of vice may be gratified as well as in Spain, by those possessed of the means of corruption. There is no better subject for rallying with the Andaluzas than the affecting to suppose in pure simplicity, that the priests and monks have access to their houses. I have seen curious mistakes made by awkward foreigners in this respect.

There is an invincible repugnance in a large portion of society to confession, and scarcely any of those above the lower classes, now, I believe, conform to it, at least in the cities. The church acts with great forbearance and temperance in this respect. They have the right of calling in the secular arm to support this great branch of their authority, but I believe it is rarely done. The heads of houses, and the old Spaniards of course, for the sake of example and from habit, act differently. I visited a public establishment, of which a chief manager was a Frenchman, who conducted me over it with the characteristic politeness of his nation. I enquired amongst other things, as I suspected he would be, whether he was obliged to confess. He looked rather ashamed at the question, but after a pause, said, "*mais oui, il faut se confesser?*" How do you manage to get through it? seeing he was of the description of men, who have no relish for these ceremonies in the present day; he said, "*Eh! ma foi! l'on fait des grimaces, et l'on s'en tire.*" He represents a very numerous class.

In the course of the time occupied by these travels, my occupations led me very much to the churches, which I have visited at all hours, and in every circumstance. I

have constantly seen the confessional boxes occupied, but I never saw in any instance the slightest reason to suppose that it should be converted to the purposes which have been asserted, and I doubt extremely that there is the slightest foundation for them. The men who are charged with that duty are almost invariably elderly persons, and of appearance quite unlike what they have been supposed. I have been repeatedly in the churches of female convents, when admitted by favour, at unaccustomed hours, to see the works of art, with the liberality characteristic and peculiar to the country. At these times they were often occupied with that duty, and if they had any reason to fear observation or detection, of course a stranger would not have been admitted. In fact, from the mode these things are managed, it is almost impossible scandal or evil consequences should arise.

There no doubt may be many of intolerant principles amongst the ranks of the clergy, but there are others of very different tenets. I knew some of the parties in a circumstance which strongly shows that intolerance of other sects is not universal amongst them.

A protestant was at the point of death, where no religious succour could be had. Application was made to the priest of a parish in the city where it happened, by a friend, himself a Spaniard and a catholic, who requested him to assist the person in question, expressly stating that it must be understood he would accept his aid on no other condition than that of pure christianity between persons of the same religion, who differed only in forms, and that no question must be raised as to change or discussion of any kind on the subject. The request was instantly complied with, and it need not be added, faithfully performed.

The mode of conducting the ceremonial of the church service is quite consonant to the grave and serious cha-

racter of the people, and in solemnity it certainly far exceeds that of any other in Europe. The beautiful apostrophe of Eustace might have been justly applied to these majestic rites, compared with which, the worship to which he alludes is very far inferior. They have abstracted every thing which is so absurd in other parts of the south of Europe, and the eye is never disgusted by the sights which are in daily view in other parts. In passing along a street at Naples, in 1828, my attention was called by observing small guns and other preparations for a ceremony. Presently a procession arrived, of a taudry saint, borne on a high frame by several men, who halted and deposited it opposite to the shop of a grocer. The master came out, and ascended the scaffold, where samples of all the articles in his shop were handed up to him. These he successively offered to the saint, making a bow, then putting the parcel into his hand for an instant, when he slipt it back behind him, and handed it down to another attendant, who returned it to the shop. The whole of this scene was performed with the indescribable air peculiar to the place, which made it impossible to know whether he was in jest or earnest, as he looked round to the assembled crowd. When the ceremony was finished, the guns were fired, and the procession departed. No such farce would for an instant be permitted in Spain. Some exceptions, it is true, may be found to this rule; such as the processions of the holy week at Seville, and a few others of like nature, but they are to be considered, as they are by the people, rather as masquerades or representations, than in a religious view, and are in no way mixed up with the real service of the church. They are in fact kept up as old customs and as dictated by policy for the encouragement of trade, and the circulation of money. The mode of performing the service, it cannot be denied, has very great advantages for the public

attendance, and it is to be regretted an analogous practice had not been preserved at the reformation, in which case the people would not have been driven to meeting houses and conventicles, which in many parts are now their only resource. Every hour on the Sundays, after six or seven in the morning, a mass is performed in the principal churches, as the cathedrals, collegiatas, or parish churches, according to the demand of the population. This ceremony, which is, in fact, an abbreviation of the service we have adopted in great part from the catholic ritual, lasts half an hour ; so that there is a series of congregations in succession, until twelve, when it ceases, with the exception of Madrid, where, to take every excuse away from the indolent, there is a mass at two. The length of the service in our churches is an insurmountable objection to very many persons in London and other large towns, who do not attend for that sole reason, which is quite obviated in the Spanish system. The whole people, from the Grandee downwards, are seen mixing and kneeling together, in a place where all are equal, and where no distinction of convenience is appropriated to any rank or class. The sermon is quite separate, and is given at other times, either in the middle of the day, or in the afternoon. The administration of the sacrament is also quite independent and is generally performed very early in the morning.

In the majestic cathedrals of Spain, every thing is in keeping. The liberality with which every thing is shown cannot be exceeded. If an enquirer be found to take interest in the works of art, every individual, from the Dean downwards, will vie in forwarding his views. I have had the greatest difficulty in prevailing on the attendants, who had spared neither time nor trouble, to accept any remuneration. The contrast in London is very striking. On returning from Spain I went to attend divine service at

Westminster Abbey, an edifice with which, for historical and national grandeur, nothing in Spain or elsewhere can compete. It was just possible to enter, but the small space allotted to the public, and the miserable manner in which every access was barred and kept by a set of jobbers and watchers, plainly showed that, if possible, it would be excluded altogether. This state of things which to every impartial observer, brings discredit on the church and the country to which these edifices pertain, it is to be hoped may be soon, as it must be finally, remedied; and those magnificent edifices be given up again to the public, to whom they belong.

I witnessed a circumstance in travelling which marks the manners of the clergy and laity generally in this country. Two diligences met, both quite full, all the company, to the number of near forty, being Spaniards, excepting myself. After supper, when the people are generally exhilarated, not from the wine, which they rarely touch, but from social and jovial spirits, a character rose and spoke extempore for a considerable time, on political and other matters, with considerable eloquence. It was in 1829, before the revolution of July, after which it would have been impracticable. The burden of his song were the monks, whom he ridiculed without mercy. The next night the party was reduced to that in our own coach, and after supper he again commenced. When he produced any point which touched a person of the same sentiments with himself, who sat opposite to him, he rose and supported his assertion, and both being corpulent men, were seen gesticulating and speaking together, particularly applying the hands to the body in a mode peculiar to the country, which had a most comic effect. At last, in the course of his speech, he enumerated, as exemplification, various professions, and amongst others the military; when a character in uniform,

but a very bad style of man, who was at the lower end of the table, rose to order, and called him to account, as for reflecting on his cloth. The instant he spoke, a little elderly man, who was sitting nearly opposite the orator, rose, and disclaimed on the part of the latter any intention of giving offence, shaking hands across the table with him. The son of Mars was soon quieted; but there was some trouble with the speaker, who was indignant at the supposition he should have violated the law of decorum, and liberty of conversation, a sacred subject in Spain. The elderly man, whose liberal and conciliatory manners and knowledge of the world had prevented a *fracas*, and who had the more merit because the church was certainly run upon in the course of the harangues, proved to be the Dean of one of the chief cathedrals in Spain.

I was too much amused with this scene to think of interfering, and, naturally, it would not occur to a stranger to mix in a business with which he had no concern; but it may be worth noticing, to those unacquainted with Spanish manners, that, the next day, I was complimented by some of the party for forbearing to do so.

The union with Rome exists but in name; all the material part is gone, and little or nothing is remitted to the Papal treasury. Amongst the secular clergy there are not wanting those who sneer at the connexion, and chuckle when they speak of the reformation, and the history of Henry the Eighth. One use is found extremely convenient in this connexion. At the last Papal election a prelate who was of the most active and intriguing of the Carlist party, was directed by a royal mandate to repair thither and use his vote. He most reluctantly undertook the long journey, and so long a period was consumed in preparations, and in attempting to procure a retractation of the order, that, on being obliged imperatively to set out, he arrived too late.

The trouble the clergy gave the government was so great that they were actually prohibited going to Madrid during a period of the year when they have a *congé* from the cathedrals, in the manner of our military leave after the inspections. This prohibition was, however, taken off after the last change of government. They were of course very much mixed up with the intrigues at Madrid during the latter times, but not more so than other parts of the political body who acted in concert with them. Some of the best and most patriotic members of the first cortes were from the ranks of the clergy. I believe, without exception, all who took any part in those proceedings are, however, under proscription. An excellent individual was living in a town of the north, who had been deprived of a licence to preach, the only punishment they could inflict, for having alluded to the constitution in a sermon. Many of them are liberals in secret, and one of the unfortunate companions of Torrijos was a *clerigo*, of course under a false name. The upper ranks of the clergy are often public spirited, and use their influence in promoting improvements. Amongst others, whilst I was in Spain, the Dean of Burgos was rewarded with public mention and a decoration, for his exertions in effecting the opening of the road from that city to Santander. The clergy, I believe, opposed no obstacle to the difficult arrangement of substituting *campos santos*, general burying grounds, for those in the churches, as anciently used, which are now almost universally introduced; and in the still more delicate discussion respecting the protestant cemetery at Malaga, the Bishop made no objection, expressing, as I understood, regret that he had not been consulted sooner, which they were unwilling to do, from apprehension of his interposing a negative, as he might have done.

Of the politico ecclesiastico character, the head, in these

days, may be perhaps considered to be the famous Cyril, who has latterly been general of the Franciscans, or mendicant orders, in which capacity he had the rank of grandee of Spain, and great power and influence. Being a thorough Carlist, and combining the qualities of intrigue and ambition with the manners of a court, and the influence of his station in the church, he was a complete pest to his party in the government, and it was at length determined to get rid of him. He was at first banished to Cadiz, where he lived for a long time in the Franciscan convent, faring, as it was said, sumptuously every day, and charming all who saw him, by the grace and affability of his manners. This situation, however, was still too near, and after long consideration, it was determined he should cross the Atlantic. He was accordingly appointed Archbishop of Cuba. This was managed with the consummate tact of the country. The appointment of the highest dignity in the church, in an opulent island like Cuba, would appear to be an object of ambition to any one. With him it was just the contrary. The office is merely titular, the real power being with the Bishop of Havannah, and the state of society was so organised that his peculiar talents were likely to be entirely lost. He accordingly used every effort to induce the government to withdraw the appointment. He exhibited a real and bona fide instance of "*nolo archi-episcopari*." He besought them day and night that a dignity he was unworthy of, should not be put upon him. It was political death to him. The situation of first mendicant, with the faculty of intriguing, was of more value to him than the highest dignity of the church without it. He supplicated, however, in vain; he was consecrated at Seville, in 1832, and obliged to embark shortly afterwards.

The parochial clergy have in reality more influence than any other members of the establishment. They direct the

peasantry, whose oracles they are, and with whom they in general live on a footing highly creditable to both parties. They are mostly men of great respectability, and of superior education and knowledge to those around them, whom they lead rather than drive, and with whom they cultivate the good will by rendering the numerous services which occur, in the state of society in which the Spanish peasant lives. It is the lightness of their yoke which makes it tolerated, and not a fanatic or bigotted attachment, as generally supposed, and to men situated as these parties are, it will not excite surprise that the connexion should be so intimate as it is. From their situation with regard to their flocks, the respect they are held in, and the mutual kindliness between the parties, their deportment is free and unconstrained, full of dignity and ease. A curious contrast may be observed with the French clergy, who, in these times, have been endeavouring to establish a yoke on different principles, and whose manners are proportionably distinct, showing that they were acting against the feelings of society, instead of going with the stream, as practised in Spain. They are the counsellors and advisers, supporters and mediators in their differences, and console them in sickness, or on the bed of death; and their connexion has with it neither baseness on the one side, nor arrogant pretension on the other. They are very inadequately paid in many instances, owing to the exactions of the government in late years; which will be shown in the description of the church revenues; and are dependent on the good will of their parishioners, to make up the deficiency. They have no sinecures, but often extremely hard work, in their avocation. Although not perfectly, they form a powerful check to the perpetration of crime, and it is almost to them, that in many parts is confided the conduct of the lower orders. The virtue of the women of the lower ranks of society, which in most parts

of Spain, is quite as good or better than that in most parts of Europe, is very much upheld by their exhortations and denunciations. I was travelling in Aragon; on arriving at the place where we were to sleep, one of my fellow travellers mentioned, that he was going to see the *cura* on some business. I accompanied him, and we found an elderly man, of the thoroughly respectable appearance general with the Spanish clergy, who are quite different from those seen in other catholic countries. The history was this. A short time before, a Catalan family were on their way to Madrid. The prudent matron at the head of the establishment directed the *alhajas*, or ornaments of the younger females, to be left behind, but one of them was of a different opinion, and was privately conveying her own, which were of some value, in her reticule. This was left behind in the same posada where we slept. On its being missed, a gentleman in the coach procured a mule, and rode back to enquire, but no tidings of it could be had. As no doubt existed that it was in possession of some of the females of the house, the object was to mention the circumstance, and to ask the *cura*, as a "dernière resource," to endeavour by means of the confessional to obtain restitution. He entered entirely into the views of the party and observing that such things had happened as the detection of crimes by means of confession, promised that nothing should be left undone on his part, to effect it in this instance. I never heard the result.

The parish priest has occasionally to bend before a storm he cannot face, and in some places, to tolerate irregularities he has not introduced, and could with difficulty amend. The internal economy of some villages in the southern provinces are curious examples of this.

The dominion of the church is always kept in view, but is occasionally modified, and apparently made secondary,

in order to secure the obedience they might vainly attempt openly to enforce. Thus they permit the working on the Sabbath, in districts, during seasons where the loss of a day is of immense importance. The Sunday is thus given up, but as it is "*misa de obligacion*" or a day they are obliged to hear mass by the canons of the church, they compel them to hear it before they commence work, and to effect this they compel the priests to rise and administer it to them at four in the morning, and the agricultural population may be seen setting out before daylight, for their distant fields, to use their expression, *con la misa en el cuerpo*. It is extremely probable that if they forbade the infraction of the Sunday in these places, they would not be obeyed, and thus their authority would be weakened.

In the towns the Sunday is as well kept as in any part of Europe, the theatres only being open, as in the other catholic countries, in the evening, but all business is suspended. The same system prevails throughout in the management of the affairs between the church and the laity. Nothing is obtruded on the public which is offensive, or would create ridicule. Of this, no people have a keener sensibility. Any one who should be heard in a pulpit making a ridiculous speech or gesture, would furnish amusement in the evening for every circle in the place, and his own companions would be obliged to listen in silence, or might join in the merriment.

I was once travelling in a diligence of which the other passengers were Spaniards. The only vacant place was taken by a *cura*, whom we picked up on the road. As soon as he was perceived, a titter ran through the company. He took his seat, saluting the other passengers in the courteous manner of the country. As he knew instinctively that the feeling of the party was against him, he quickly proceeded to disarm it, remarking that he regretted their

payment was not made in some mode more congenial with the sentiments of the rest of society (alluding to the tithes), than that at present in use. This and other subjects of the kind, he touched with a lightness of hand and tact peculiar to this people, not appearing to make it otherwise than a secondary part of his conversation and not dwelling upon it. He completely succeeded, and when he got out, my companions remarked that he was a very reasonable person, and a good specimen of his profession, &c.

THE MONKS.

THE feelings of society with respect to the monks differ totally from those towards the regular clergy; between these bodies themselves, there is a deep gulf fixed, and if reports be true, mortal hatred, even if possible *plus quam theologicum*, reigns between them, and the union, of late years, has been only in appearance. In reality, the most determined dislike and contempt, on the part of the upper ranks of the hierarchy, exists towards these Lazzaroni of the establishment. The apparent harmony is caused by common danger and the necessity of temporary union against that portion of the liberal party, who are hostile to the whole body.

In the upper ranks of society, the monks are rarely spoken of, and are comparatively as much unknown as the gypsies in England. They are very rarely admitted within the doors of any respectable house, unless the sudden illness of a servant, or some such cause, require the temporary service of a Capuchin, who is always at hand to supply the want of other attendance. Of course, this is meant to be stated as the general rule. Of this the cir-

cumstances mentioned by a late traveller of their burrowing into a house at Cadiz is an accidental example in the widest sense. Anecdotes of the kind may be furnished in every country, and we should not feel indebted to any foreigner who should publish that the methodists had penetrated into a house in England, and seduced the maid servants, as has happened more than once, without stating it to be an accidental occurrence. When the mendicant progresses of the poorer orders are made, from house to house, the rule in the south is not to admit them beyond the patio. The ridicule attached to any intimacy with them, would alone secure their exclusion from any house of the upper classes. As you descend in society, the same feelings are carried still further. In the middle classes, and the active part of society, as merchants, officers, and the like, they form the subjects of universal ridicule. The sight of one in a mixed company is a certain cause of merriment; and the broadest jokes and stories are unceasingly retailed at their expence. One instance came to my knowledge, when a friar was on his way in a diligence to the south of Spain. The other passengers were young officers, who tormented him to such a degree, that he was obliged to get out on the second day, and wait for a more quiet company. The manners of these people are fashioned accordingly. They bear raillery with the greatest good humour, often retorting on their assailants, and approaching that happy state termed in France a "bon diable." There is a great difference in the situation of the orders. In the more wealthy convents of Geronimos, Cartuxos, and others with landed property, they are now reduced to a very small number. They are seldom more than half, frequently one third, or less, of their regular complements, and sometimes they approach the situation of a skeleton regiment on its return from India, there being barely sufficient to attend the worldly concerns

of the management of farms and the refectory, whilst the vigils and night observances of their accustomed rites are obliged to stand over, from want of the necessary numbers to perform them. I have never been able to ascertain, even proximately, the amount abstracted from the convents annually, for *secret* service, that is the private support of the apostolic chamber, which in these times has by such means only, been enabled to keep them together. It must be very large, besides the depreciation in the value of land and agricultural produce, which have reduced the small portion of monks now in the convents, to a state of absolute poverty. These observations do not apply to the proportion paid to the general government as will be stated afterwards, but to the extraordinary levies.

These higher orders ought to recruit amongst the richer ranks of society, but the repugnance to them is such, that it is now impossible; and either from accident or design, they are dwindling entirely away, so much so that it might even have been supposed the intention of the government to let them die out. These orders, both by their habits, which are abstracted and unsocial, quite unlike the rest of society, lie under a jealous dislike from the rest of the community, which strongly marks their manners. The Geronimos are excepted, as I found them in the dealings I had occasionally with them, courteous and polished.

The mendicant orders are quite different from the higher orders in their situation with regard to society. Having no lands or real property, their magazines are not tangible, and they always find the means of living sociably with the people, and of having ample stores of provision. They recruit amongst the lower ranks, and their churches are invariably the best attended and popular in the cities. Their manners are frank and good humoured, and they are generally attentive to those who have occasion to commune

with them. From the mode in which they are maintained, and from their existence depending on the people, their superfluities return into circulation, and they are often extremely charitable. Beggars themselves, they maintain multitudes of beggars yet lower in the scale. In the dreadful winter of 1830, when vast numbers of people perished from cold and hunger, in a city where I happened to be, the Capuchins, who are the poorest of the mendicants, were indefatigable in their attention to the needy, and distributed provisions very largely, whilst, from the opulent see, scarcely any thing was to be obtained. It was said that the archiepiscopal revenues were remitted to Portugal, to support Don Miguel. As their connexions are amongst the lower orders, their vacancies are soon filled up, and it must be allowed that the providing for a son in the actual state of Spain, is an object not to be overlooked, where they are not by education above the prejudices of the upper classes of society against this *holgazan* mode of life.

If the government really do not boldly suppress the convents, as it is to be trusted they will; the universal voice of society calling for it, the plan of Bolivar, in prohibiting their entry before the age of twenty-four, which put a complete stop to it in America, would most probably produce nearly the same effect in Spain. Amongst the more preposterous of the absurdities of the late government, was the keeping up the Merced, an order instituted for the redemption of slaves from Barbary, which of course has long ceased to be of any utility. To complete the folly of it, the money which was raised, in the way of a legacy duty, to support this institution; is sacked by government, as no longer applicable to its original purpose; whilst the monks are left to vegetate in their convents, many of which are magnificent.

The same prejudices against the female convents are held to even a greater extent than against those of the other sex. Notwithstanding the universal distress, approaching to ruin, of numerous families in all parts of Spain, they seldom allow or hear of their daughters being connected with these establishments, which never, excepting a very few, that are foundations for the purpose, serve for education; the system being different in Spain from that of other catholic countries.

Amongst other causes for the detestation of the monks, so general in the educated ranks of society, is the unjust and iniquitous resumption of the property sold in 1820 and during the short period of the sistema. Not only no money was refunded, but where alterations had been made, the individuals had to restore them to their pristine state, if required, and no allowance was made for improvements. By these operations, many families, in all parts of Spain, have been impoverished or ruined, and the state has gained nothing; for some transactions took place in the Cortes, respecting the sale of these domains, which completely precluded it. It cannot be supposed a people like the Spaniards should have any other than unfriendly feeling to such dealings, or the drones who are the cause of this unjust and unmerited suffering.

Since the war or monkish insurrection of Catalonia, they have been under the strict and constant surveillance of all the authorities. In fact the throne was far more in danger from them, than from the liberals, and the strictest orders were constantly sent from Madrid respecting them. Accordingly, they were scarcely allowed to leave their convents, excepting on indispensable and urgent business. I have seen the licenses issued on these occasions. Besides their being subordinate to the general police, like all others, they are subjected to a most severe routine from their own

brotherhood. Their route is specified, their halting places, the time for each, the authorities they are to be inspected by, and other details, with greater minuteness than any military furlough.

Besides the obligation of duty, the military men in general, high and low, have the greatest detestation for them, and would cordially support the government, if measures should be resolved on to suppress them. The effect on the property of individuals by the late sale and resumption of the property of convents, is mentioned under the head of the revenue. An instance of its practical working came to my own personal knowledge. A man is living in the heart of the Sierra Morena, who, during the war, was the incumbent of an excellent and most desirable benefice in the church. He was elected deputy in the first Cortes, where his talents, his real patriotism, his knowledge, eloquence, and courage, fearless alike of the tyranny of king or people, caused his being one of the leading members. He was accordingly designated, and with more than twenty others, arrested, without a crime being laid to their charge, or their having done any thing but defend the throne, for which he received this recompense. This was the famous act which celebrated the return of the King in 1814. He was confined for some years; part of the time in a dungeon. In time he was released, and on the sale of the lands during the *sistema*, he invested his whole property in a demesne belonging to a convent of Chartreux, and retired to cultivate it. On the entry of the French, in 1823, his title was set aside, the land was resumed by the convent, his money lost, and he is now living as their tenant; farming his own land and paying the rent to the monks! I visited this extraordinary individual, who is in years, but strong and vigorous, full of information and of grace, and the gallantry of a man of the world, with the habits of a real philosopher.

The impunity with which offences were committed by this body was extraordinary, and characterises the late government, as well as confirms the general statements of the immense occult influence they possessed. I believe, in the war of Catalonia, although they were known to be the sole instigators of it, and some were taken *flagrante delicto*, not one was executed, whilst the lay individuals taken at the same time, were unsparingly dealt with. The most singular instance, however, took place at Madrid, when I was once there. In one of the disputes between the monks of a convent, where, as in the *cabildos*, if general belief be correct, although every thing externally is carried on smoothly and harmoniously, "Fixed mind and high disdain," and even "Immortal hate," invade their councils, they so far forgot the usual restraints of decency as to assassinate the prior. It was said he had interfered with their enjoyment of unlawful and forbidden pleasures. Although it was instantly known over the whole city, no real steps were taken to bring them to justice, and the matter was hushed up, in the vain hope of bolstering up the reputation of the church, by avoiding public scandal, whilst these transactions are known in a few days, all over Spain, by every one who has the least curiosity about them. The sacred light in which this part of the establishment is held, and to which the interests and real influence of the more useful part of the establishment is sacrificed; who are obliged to share the burdens and the odium of these worse than useless appendages; is the real cause of the rankling hatred between the two great divisions of the hierarchy.

REVENUES OF THE CHURCH.

THE same erroneous ideas are abroad respecting the amount of the ecclesiastical revenues, as upon so many other subjects. They are certainly very large, and, in many instances, unequally and disproportionably distributed; but the fall in the value of land, the abuses in the collection of their dues, with the extreme mildness in the exaction of them, and the enormous sums paid to government, have reduced the great body of the church to a state of property far from enviable; and very few benefices, of any rank, are now adequately remunerated.

For a long period the increasing financial difficulties of the country, with the impolicy and impracticability of laying further burdens on the land, had pointed out the vast possessions of the church, as a mean of invisibly increasing the resources of the treasury. They were accordingly called on to contribute to the public burdens, and these calls have been progressively increased, principally, I believe, during the time of the Prince of Peace, and the subsequent disastrous events which have poured on this unhappy country, until they amount to a sum, I have heard from the best concurrent testimony, clerical and laical, estimated at 70 to 75 per cent. of the whole revenues. This sum is derived, like all Spanish taxes, in a mode not only strictly speaking illegal, but extortionate and tyrannical, aggravating the injustice of it by the manner of its operation. Another singularity is that the people who have successively laid on these impositions, which are exactly after the fashion of collecting revenue in the east, would consider it sacrilege to touch an acre of convent lands, or adopt any of the plans now followed in every catholic country to lop off those fun-

gous excrescences, which have so long, instead of promoting the interests of it, done real prejudice to Christianity, and in Spain, as in every other country, are daily alienating portions of the people from the church.

The direct taxes paid by the clergy to government are, a sum called *subsidio*, which is a kind of personal or capitation tax, paid annually by the whole body, and raised by themselves. At present, I believe, it is ten millions, rather more than £100,000. There is the *novena*, or a ninth of the whole tithes of the kingdom. There are what are called *annualidades*, which are sums, of one to three years' salary, on appointments or translations, according to the rank of the parties. These principally affect the higher secular clergy in the cathedrals. The curas or rectors of parishes are subject to another mode of exaction. The government select an individual proprietor in the parish, at discretion, of course the richest, whose tithes are paid to the treasury. Where there is not found one who is deemed a sufficient contributor, two are taken; these are termed *casas escusadas*. It is evident that, in very many instances, the tithes of this *casa* are nearly the stipend of the whole parish, and that the cura is left to the good will of the other parishioners. The right of retaining vacant places is exercised to a great extent, and the revenues are withheld. The actual amount thus levied, I have heard estimated, on very good authority, at about a million and a half sterling, or about a fourth of the whole revenue of Spain.

The folly of continuing this system was seen by the Cortes. A proposal was made to the clergy to reduce the tithe to one half, to be bona fide paid. This was adopted, and, in one sense, worked well; but unfortunately it was hastily determined on, without considering how the deficiency of revenue was to be made up. It was found that

the people were averse to new taxes for the purpose, and preferred the old system. Some instances came to my knowledge, where the labradores, on the benefit being pointed out which would result to them from a reduction of tithe to one half, with a hint that a rise in the rent might be acceptable to the landlord, said, "It is of no advantage to us, we have never paid more than a twentieth." So difficult is it to legislate abstractedly! By a law of that date, the tithes of all lands taken into cultivation subsequently to 1800, are the property of government. In some districts, but of comparatively small extent, the tithes have been granted to individuals. In these, the proprietor is obliged to provide for the service of the church at his own expence. The greatest difficulty is found, notwithstanding the mildness and liberality of the church, who are extremely indulgent in general, to procure the payment of tithes; the collectors often obtaining little more than hard words instead of their dues. An edict was issued during my residence in Spain on this subject, threatening the recusants with coercive measures, in case they persevered in resisting. In their capacity of owners of houses in the cities, which property they hold very extensively, I have heard they are equally mild and indulgent. The amount of revenues of the great sees is very much exaggerated. Granada, which is one of the best, in its flourishing period, before the war of independence, was only forty thousand *duros*, about eight thousand pounds sterling; a large sum, but far below what has been stated. A regular detailed statement of every item which made up the revenues at that period, including the rich sugar grounds of Motril, is appended in the country palace at Viznar, near the city. At present it is probably one third less. The richest see, at present, is Valencia, the tithes of the rice grounds being a vast, constant, and regular source of revenue. Of the

bishopricks, four only are considered rich, Cuenca, Sigüenza, Placentia, and another.

The best appointments connected with the church are two administrative ones. The *comisario de cruzada*, who has the receiving the sum levied on every person for the *bula de cruzada*, empowering them to eat meat in lent, &c. The sum raised in this mode is very great; it being almost a capitation tax, and there is no responsibility or check. The enormous sums levied in this manner were understood to be paid chiefly to the apostolical or secret part of the government, and were one of its chief sources of supply. The party who fills this station is said to live in a style of luxury quite unlike any one in Spain; in fact to be quite an Apicius, and from hints I have heard, might give lectures on some branches of the culinary art at London or Paris. When he went out, his state resembled that of a Cardinal, and the air was perfumed as he passed. The other place is less lucrative, but equally irresponsible. It is that of collector of spoils. In Spain the King is heir to the personal property of the upper ranks of the clergy, which is supposed to be accumulated at the public expence, and to revert to it on his demise. They cannot devise it by will. It seems to be one of their many customs of oriental origin. Accordingly, in each diocese is a collector of spoils, as he is termed, who, on the death or severe illness of any member, proceeds to collect what is due to the state. The receiver general of these spoils is the officer in question. The sum received of course cannot be known, and is very much diminished in these times, few people exposing themselves to such visitations, unless in cases of sudden death.

CHAPTER XII.

Army, Captain General.

THE army forms three grand divisions. The regular forces which may amount to about 40,000 men; the militia, which are more numerous; and the *realistas*, royalist volunteers or national guards, which are denominated as the political state of the country give the predominance to one party or the other. The regular troops have been reformed and very much improved even during the period which occupied these observations. The French system of equipment has been adopted. The men are respectably clothed and appointed, and they are well and regularly paid. The clothing, now, I believe, is entirely of Spanish manufacture. The code of military law, I have been informed, like all the Spanish laws, is excellent, rather inclining to severity; and the disasters of the armies must be attributed to other causes than a deficiency in that respect.

The Spanish soldier is a patient, cheerful, docile, enduring, sober, and hardy being, who is not easily disheartened; and may be again and again led on, if he be properly commanded.

The best troops, I have heard from the officers, are those from the north, who are slow and require much patience in forming them; but when once made are better than those of the south, who learn very quickly but are fre-

quently light headed and unstable, somewhat resembling the Neapolitans.

The grand deficiency in the army is, as no doubt it always has been, the want of regimental officers, up to the rank of captain inclusive. There is at present, for some cause difficult to ascertain, a scarcity of men fitted for these situations; whilst every town abounds in poor nobles whose families are too proud to follow commerce, or similar pursuits, and would appear to be a naturally formed corps of officers. The deficiency of the officers when I was in Spain was increased by the fear of the Government in giving a post of the smallest weight to any of those politically opposed to them. This amounted to an exclusion of nearly all the best officers, the whole of whom are liberals. In a review I witnessed at Madrid, I was assured the only man capable of putting a thousand men through the common manœuvres was the minister of war himself.

Many causes have concurred in producing the disasters which have attended almost every operation in modern times, and, as I have often heard the well informed and impartial part of society say, have prevented their ever gaining a battle since that of St. Quintin. In these times the strongest causes have certainly been the corruption of those entrusted with the commands, in which the foreigners, for whom the predilection seems undiminished, have largely participated. Many of those in the Spanish service are complete adventurers, and having no stake in the country can have no real patriotism and are too frequently time servers, easily adopting any creed which may serve their purpose. The history of the war of independence and occurrences subsequently have furnished strong proofs of this, and of the great corruption which has prevailed amongst them, even more than the natives. The regular army is drawn by ballot in the manner now so general, with the

exception of the free provinces, which are subject to a special agreement, as before mentioned.

The militia is a most valuable force, and with a little attention to discipline, and the selection of good officers in the lower ranks, would be every thing that could be required in such a corps. It is of the more value on account of the very small number of regular troops, owing to the financial state of the country, which prevents their paying the requisite number.

The lowest description of force in every respect was the corps of realistas. It was originally formed of the bands who took the field in concert with the French cabinet, previous to the invasion in 1823. These were gradually increased and became a regular force in every part of the kingdom. In the large towns they had quarters where "Viva el rey absoluto," inscribed over the gate, explained their tenets. They were generally the lowest of the populace, and, in most places, of the very dregs of society. The only instance of brutality I witnessed in Spain was from one of this corps. I was walking in the calle de Alcala, at Madrid, when before me was a realista in full uniform, a little, weak, sickly person, such as are seen in the workshops of large cities. In an opposite direction came a huge Gallego. He passed "between the wind and the nobility" of the realista, but without touching him, or doing any thing to cause offence. The little man, if he deserve the name, turned round, gave the heaviest blow his strength would enable him, which resembled an assault upon an elephant, and then, drawing his sword, struck the Gallego several times with the flat of it, who had only to seize him by the throat, and in an instant terminate his career, as he richly deserved; but he bore it with the same patience the quadruped would in similar circumstances, and then walked on without speaking one word, or taking the

slightest notice of his pigmy adversary. An order was published in 1830, setting forth that the being enrolled in that corps was not to be considered a dispensation from working, proving very clearly the basis on which it was formed. The most pressing orders were constantly sent to fill up the numbers in the villages; but there was in most instances an invincible repugnance in the respectable part of the community to belong to such a corps. The advantages were considerable. The right of carrying arms, which was to be obtained with difficulty, excepting by being registered amongst them, was a powerful argument in most parts of Spain. They had their own chiefs and separate regulations, but were subject to the orders of the Captain general. It cannot be denied that they showed great activity during the plots of the Constitutionals in 1830 and 31, and without them some of the invading corps would have penetrated. They were occasionally employed in the conveyance of state criminals. One of the persons engaged in the attempt at Cadiz, at the time the Governor was assassinated, was taken some months afterwards in the north of Spain. He was escorted by detachments of them, to that city, to be tried, and to certain execution. On their return from this service, a kind of public entry was arranged for them at Seville by their brethren, and an account was published in the Gazette of the rejoicing on the occasion, which resembled the fraternising of the republicans in France. Nothing could show more distinctly the description of persons composing this body, than such a display. No real Spaniard, if he had the misfortune to be employed in such a service, would have thought of boasting or making a parade of it. At a great ball given in a city where I was residing, considerable offence was taken by many of the inhabitants, because the officers of that corps were officially invited with the other corps d'armée, with which they were not considered to be

associated. In this instance, as in some others, sons of functionaries had been enrolled, in order to bolster up a body, to which, in most parts of Spain, it was considered a disgrace to belong.

The defence of Spain in the important period of her modern history, the War of Napoleon, or that emphatically termed by all parties "*La Guerra de la Independencia*," as it was fought to defend the principle of national independence, than which no people in ancient or modern history have a more durable or noble record, depended almost entirely on their regular forces, formed by a proud and generous people, acting without general subordination or central union by a common impulse, directed sometimes well, but generally ill, by badly constituted and decrepid bodies and institutions. It is much to be regretted that questions, as to whether the success of the war in Spain was owing to the British army, or, as many Spaniards hold, that England and all Europe were saved by Spain, should be mooted. There are two points clear : the one, that the small number of troops the English government could spare were of no avail by themselves, against the force Napoleon disposed of in the Spanish war ; on the other hand, it cannot be denied, that every battle given by the Spanish regular armies, was lost, sometimes at fearful odds in their favour, and that, so far from gaining they were losing ground, and the last campaigns were even more disastrous than the earlier ones, unless when they were actually in cooperation with the British troops ; their armies which were successively formed with vast trouble and expence, being successively dispersed, like chaff in the wind, wherever they encountered the Imperial Eagle. The defence of the country, being in fact, left entirely to the guerillas, a description of force suited to the national character, as well as the local position of the country. With a whole population armed,

no enemy could be quietly in possession of a country; but, it is quite certain, that with such enemies only; a power like that of France, by the construction of roads and communications, and by the possession of the military posts and keys of the kingdom, must have finally remained in quiet sovereignty. The solution of the difficulty was in Great Britain. The command of the sea and the means of transport, with unlimited resources, enabled a comparatively small body of troops, who never knew defeat and were directed by consummate talent, to effect what alone they could not, and what, without them, was morally impossible, the deliverance of the Peninsula. The arguing, as is found the case in both countries, partially in favour of their own side, tends to no other purpose, than the creating feelings of ill will where none ought to exist; the main question remaining as before. If any one be desirous of entering on this unprofitable kind of argument, he will find abundance of opponents at Madrid and elsewhere, quite ready to engage with him; taking probably a very different view of the matter from his own. The national defence of Spain is unquestionably in the hands of the people. If they are united and determined, as in the late war, no enemy can hope to conquer a country with the local advantages she possesses for defence. The government has neither regular troops nor money, or resources necessary to form an army capable of resisting the French, should they, under any pretext, again repeat the invasion. The strong holds of Spain are near the frontiers. Navarre, upper Aragon, and upper Catalonia, which adjoin the French line of demarcation, remained in possession of the national flag during the greater part of the war, and some parts of them were never conquered. The whole country at the foot of the Pyrenees is a mountain range of impregnable and almost impassable fastnesses, without roads and communica-

tions, and without military resources to an invading enemy. The miserable fort of Cardona, which is within a few lines of Barcelona, was never taken. The reason of this was the surrounding peasantry and the impossibility of conducting a siege, in a neighbourhood so favourable to the operation of desultory warfare.

Were the population equally dense as in the frontier provinces, the whole tract of mountains, which form the outside radius, would be equally defensible. The northern provinces and Galicia, Asturias, the vast Sierra de Cuenca, and Segura, and the upper range of the kingdom of Valencia and Murcia, the whole kingdom of Granada, and Serania de Ronda, as well as parts of the Sierra Morena, are military countries of great natural strength, if they had a population organized to defend them; whilst the wide range of lower Aragon, the Castiles, and Estremadura, excepting where they are partially traversed by the great central range, which separates the Castiles, are open, wide and defenceless. This it was which made the progress of the French armies apparently so rapid, whilst they had, in fact, effected very little. The whole country around them was unassailable, and of difficult and uncertain tenure, when momentarily acquired. The ground, which was the grand scene of the exploits of Mina, was at the very gates of the military entrance of France, and almost within hearing of the guns of Bayonne. The scientific departments of the army produce excellent officers; mathematical education being apparently suited to the grave and reflecting character of the people. In the political changes which have taken place, nearly the whole of these officers, of every rank, are on the liberal side. Their opinions were perfectly known to government, who could not replace and was obliged to tolerate them. Some, however, were compromised, and were banished the kingdom or obliged to quit

the service and enter into various civil employments. I knew several of them, working with the greatest cheerfulness, in situations quite unlike their former occupations and habits, a proof, with so many others, that idleness is not inherent in this people. Of the artillery and engineers scarcely an individual was to be found who was not liberal; and in the navy, the officers of which were educated in nearly a similar manner, the same feeling was general.

I knew a retired officer of artillery very intimately, who had carried arms very late after the invasion of 1823. He was prosecuted in consequence and obliged to fly. He profited by his residence abroad, and made himself master of the iron manufacture, in which he was soon confidentially employed in various establishments, and from his zeal and perfect knowledge and fitness for the office, will leave his name amongst the benefactors of his country. Whilst I was in Spain he was living openly and travelling about, with a sentence of ten years presidio hanging over him, which had been pronounced by the court which tried him. Although the sentence had never been repealed he was privately offered to be reinstated in his rank.

The glory of commencing the war of independence rests with this corps. In the attempt to take Cadiz by the troops, in 1831, it was saved by the artillery at the lines, whose sense of duty overcame their sentiments as individuals, which would have led them to join the insurgents.

A magnificent pageant was prepared in the summer of 1832, of which the objects have since become more apparent, for the purpose of presenting their colours to the whole army of Spain, of which detachments from every corps and regiment, were collected for the purpose of receiving them from the hands of the Queen. By a singular coincidence the lot of filling the post for the artillery fell to the very officer who, when the sanguinary attempt was

made to put down the constitution by the royal guards, at Madrid, in 1821, being unable to walk, sat in a chair and directed the firing of his guns, assisting materially in repelling the attack. No unpleasant result was anticipated; but with the delicacy and good feeling of the country, he withdrew his claim to the honour and a substitute was found, to avoid the possibility of exciting feelings which might not be exactly in unison with those so desirable on the occasion.

CAPTAIN GENERAL.

THE great military divisions of Spain are at present the Castiles, old and new, Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Galicia, Estremadura, Navarre, to which are united the free provinces, Granada, lower Andalusia, and Murcia. These commands are of course bestowed on the higher rank of military officers, and the utmost care is taken in selecting them, as in the present organisation of Spain every thing depends upon them. The regular emoluments are small and they are badly paid, as in all other departments; but advantage is occasionally taken of the opportunities of speculation, although much more rarely than in the other branches. Besides the ordinary military functions, which give them the disposal of all the forces by sea and land, the extraordinary powers granted or assumed by them, in some cases from absolute necessity, are very great and difficult to define. They are invested with a kind of dictatorship, placing them above every other power, civil or ecclesiastic, an "alter ego," enabling them to disobey the orders of Government itself, and almost to set it at defiance.

This curious state of things proceeded partly from the general vices of Spanish administration, as explained in the

chapter of Government, but it has been aggravated by the peculiar construction of the administration which has governed Spain since 1823. The main object of their party, being to preserve the monkish faction connected with them, their orders naturally partook of the character resulting from such a composition, and were alternately reasonable or violent, tyrannical, unjust, or impracticable, as it might happen.

No man capable of commanding an army could be supposed to obey such a government from any other motive than necessity; and their tergiversation, frequently amounting to falsehood and imbecility, rather invited disobedience and contempt, than touched the pride natural to a good officer, of obeying regular and well considered orders. By the operation of these causes the most curious anomalies resulted. The government at Madrid depended for their existence on men whom they hated and feared, who, on their part, were only withheld by a paramount sense of duty from revolting, or seceding from them. The same necessity obliged them in one province to uphold a Captain general whose proceedings were in direct violation of the laws of the kingdom, and would have subjected him to severe and exemplary punishment but for this illegal support.

The naval reader will better understand this order of things by recollecting past times, and the situations we were sometimes placed in, by having to deal with collateral authorities and civil juntas not identified with or belonging to, the service itself.

Amongst the multifarious duties which devolve on these officers, the most singular is that of sitting president of the chancery or *audiencia*, the supreme courts of law in the respective provincial capitals, which they do in their military capacity and in full uniform. We may imagine the effect it would have in London to see the Commander in

chief go from the Horse-guards, in state, to take his seat amongst the judges in Westminster Hall, to hear "motions." Yet the prejudices in England on these subjects are not at all stronger than in Spain, and the courts not a whit more jealous of their privileges. To complete the ridicule of this custom, the officer is not allowed to interfere, nor to speak, unless a question of martial law be raised, and it is difficult to conceive whether the ennui to the person, or the loss of time to other parts of his duties, be the greater.

It might be inferred that this usage was derived from the East. It may very probably have been, but if so, it had long lain dormant, and was introduced, I believe, in that grand epoch of Spanish history, the time of the Prince of Peace. The Captain general is the natural foe of robbers, and the natural protector of strangers. If the latter, however, have the imprudence to commit themselves or become involved in difficulties of any kind, they will not find this protection very efficacious, notwithstanding the good feeling of such as the Governor of Cartagena. An instance occurred whilst I was in Spain of a foreign prince residing there, who contracted debts he was unable to discharge; a very difficult matter in a country where speculation is so low, that credit is a very small part of the system. In this case the creditors appealed to the Captain general of the province, to enforce payment; but after repeated applications of the same sort, he said at last, they must go to the tribunals, as his jurisdiction was ineffectual for the purpose.

The residences of these officers, who have considerable power, frequently resemble petty courts, where intriguers and hangers on of low degree are found, and surround the chief with the same jealousy as is practised in the greater circles they unconsciously imitate. I had an opportunity of witnessing an instance of this, in a case where a low

and ignorant foreigner, with an hibernian accent, who had attained some rank, but had long been laid aside, was spending an inglorious old age in this miserable manner. He was leagued with a person in official employment, and they had not the address to conceal their paltry intrigues, which were carried on quite unknown to the exalted and superior person under whose shade they were vegetating.

One of the Captains general, lately dead, united the functions of his own department with that of Impresario, or jobbing proprietor of a semi-piratical flotilla, employed by him, in his military capacity, to repress smuggling on the coast, with the ominous conjunction of judge of the court of Admiralty, in which his own prizes were adjudged. This individual, I have understood, was originally a village blacksmith. In the war of independence he became a leader of guerilla, and shared in the *spolia opima* of the mighty scramble at Vittoria. He was said to be very rich, but he had speculated largely; and at his death it was found to be quite otherwise. The enterprize of guarda costas, may have been one cause. This officer was a firm and consistent friend of the monarchy, and was of the numerous class who cordially hated the monks. When their insurrection broke out in Catalonia the feeling extended to the neighbouring province, which he then commanded. Having ascertained the plans, and that meetings were held for the purpose of concerting operations, he sent for all the heads, and threatened them with the *horca*, or gibbet, on the first move that should be made. Not a monk was known to stir afterwards.

Of the paramount dictatorial power of these officers, a proof was exhibited at Seville. Great alarm was felt in Spain on account of the cholera, at the time it was raging in France. Orders were issued for rogativas, or prayers

of supplication, in the churches, to avert the calamity. These rogativas last many days, during which time all public amusements are suspended. The period is, however, occasionally extended, and intervals or interruptions permitted during certain days, on which the rigorous observance of the fast is excused. The decision of the points connected with these observances, often give rise to very curious discussions. A bull fight had been prepared at Seville, of which the term fixed fell within the period in question. The decision of the knotty question as to the propriety of its taking place, after many sittings and consultations, the last of which was continued nearly all night by the Ayuntamiento and Cabildo combined, was in the negative. The instant the result was communicated to him, the Captain general, who was quite prepared for it, sent in a rescript, in his capacity of dictator and guardian of the public safety, stating that the expences were already incurred and the preparations made, and that the public tranquillity might be endangered by persevering in the prohibition. This mandate was instantly obeyed; but it is clear that the exercise of such powers requires great tact and skill, every thing being, of course, privately reported and commented to the juntas at Madrid, who sat on judgment on every individual employed in the country, and had spies and informers in every place.

After the revolution of July various bands of exiles assembled in the different parts of the Spanish frontiers, with the intention of proclaiming the constitution; the power which had overthrown it no longer having the ascendancy in France. The appearance of success was however soon damped, except in Andalusia, where the liberal party is extremely strong, and hopes were still entertained of effecting a change. Measures were accordingly taken at Cadiz, and an insurrectional movement was openly spoken of as

being probable in the spring of 1831. The garrison, however, was the principal obstacle, and without their participation, as in 1820, there was little hope of permanent success. Many of the officers were supposed to be disposed to a change in the government, and it was determined to try the colonel of a regiment in the garrison, who had been appointed governor pro tempore; the former holder of that office being superseded at a moment's warning, in consequence of having been seen to enter a convent where the secret meetings of the monks and Carlists were held. This colonel, who was a plain soldier, an excellent officer, and a good man, was accordingly consulted on the subject. In an evil hour for himself he yielded in appearance, determining to make himself master of the plot and then betray the authors of it. Accordingly he was soon put in possession of all their plans, which he successively revealed to the Captain general of the province, his official superior, who resided at Seville. As soon as every thing was supposed to be ready, the Captain general came to Xeres with all the disposeable troops under his command. The conspirators at Cadiz perceived instantly that they were lost, and that the only plan to save themselves was to assassinate the Governor. This was done in the middle of the day, in the open street, and it was hoped it would be the signal for the troops to rise. The men who had struck the blow, who were in small number, instantly repaired to the Plaza, where the main guard is; but the officer on duty stood by his orders and they were repulsed, one of them being wounded and made prisoner. Simultaneously with this movement the regiment of Marines, one of the finest in the service, marched from the barracks, which are outside of the land defences of the town of Cadiz, intending to enter the place and proclaim the constitution as in 1820.

On approaching the lines, however, the artillery opened a fire and they were compelled to retreat. In the town nothing whatever was done. The troops reckoned on the inhabitants and the inhabitants on the troops, and by this feeble balance the authority of the government was upheld.

At this moment the fate of Spain, as to civil war and change of Government, was in the hands of the Captain general of Andalusia. Had he put himself at the head of the insurrection, the whole country would in an instant have been in arms to support him, and the ministry had no force capable of withstanding him. The regiment of marines being unable to force the lines had no alternative but to quit the Isla, where they would have been surrounded, and they marched to Vejer, a small town on a high and commanding situation between Cadiz and Gibraltar. Here they were surrounded and obliged to surrender. As there was no chance of saving the officer's lives they were allowed to escape; the command of course devolving on the serjeants. In his dispatch giving an account of the capture and bloodless termination of this critical affair, which was solely owing to his firmness and management, the Captain general said that he knew he was incompetent to *promise* the lives of the serjeants, but that if his services entitled him to any recompense, he entreated they might be spared and the royal clemency extended to these deluded men. There was every reason to suppose this would be granted, and no fairer or better opportunity was ever given to show a generous and magnanimous spirit. This, however, was no part of the system of the monachal cabal who governed the country. An order was instantly sent to confer the grand cross of Charles the Third on the general and to try the men. The Captain general returned the cross

saying that he was unconscious of having done any thing to deserve it; and as the only favour he had solicited had been refused, he wished for no other.

In the process of time the trial took place; but means were found to acquit the men of the capital charge, by the humane conduct which operates in this country to neutralize evil; and none of them I believe suffered more than common punishment.*

The imminent danger the government were placed in, and the hairbreadth escape they had made, when every thing was officially reported to be perfectly tranquil; made it extremely difficult to decide what steps were to be taken to manage a city, of which the sentiments of nearly the whole of the inhabitants were known, although scarcely any of them had been actually committed. The most unjust and arbitrary as well as barbarous orders, were given to banish a large portion of the inhabitants and to shut up the free port. A Governor who had been removed from Malaga, to make way for the personage who will be mentioned subsequently, was appointed. No better choice could have been made than General Manso, the famous guerilla chief of Catalonia, who was originally a miller, and through the trying circumstances in which he was placed, conducted himself with equal firmness, mildness, and moderation. Notwithstanding the confidence placed in such a man, it did not suit the views of the minister to entrust so important a command to any one individual, and I have understood a secret junta was actually appointed, to watch and controul every act, and examine every order, emanating from him, reporting their view of it to their employers, and suspending it, if they judged proper. At Madrid, it was given out that the government disapproved of the conduct of the

* See the chapter on the Clergy.

former Governor, in tampering with rebels ; but the history at Malaga soon proved that it was the failure, and not the principle, which elicited those censures.

Of the strange manner in which the military functions and those of police were mixed up, the dreadful tragedy of the death of Torrijos is the most striking example. That ill-fated man was a general officer of high reputation, and Governor of Cartagena, at the time of the last invasion. He was very well connected in society, and in every respect his character was unimpeachable. He took the command of one of the bands intended to invade Spain after the change of government at Paris, and repaired to Gibraltar, where he unfortunately found means to be privately introduced, in violation of the laws. He was lodged for several months in some of the curious old houses in that place, and as the exact site was unknown, and the police were unacquainted with his person, and the government had no actual right of general search without specific information, all attempts to dislodge so inconvenient a resident were found ineffectual. When all the efforts made by his companions proved of no avail, and it was evident to every one but himself that he could effect nothing, he resisted every effort of persuasion to retire and give up a cause apparently so hopeless, and reserve his talents and patriotism for better times. It was little known that one cause of his pertinacity was a secret correspondence with the Governor of Malaga, who was appointed to that situation for the express purpose of entrapping him, by pretending to participate in his views, and promising to join him with the garrison on his appearing upon the coast. It is inconceivable that men like Torrijos and Lopez de Pinto, his second, both men of great talent and knowledge of the world and of society, should have been the dupes of this miserable plot, contrived by a man whose name was notorious throughout Spain. He

was known where the use of *sobriquets* is universal by that of "El malo," to distinguish him from a near relative who had the opposite denomination. His plan, however, completely succeeded. The unfortunate men were so blinded by their enthusiastic credulity, that they actually landed without arms, either in the vain hope that in the case of failure it might operate in their favour, by showing that they had no intentions of making war, or that it was unnecessary where they expected to find only friends and coadjutors. They were immediately surrounded, made prisoners, and conducted to Malaga. A long conversation took place between Torrijos and the Governor, which still left him in ignorance as to his intentions, and it was only when they were shut up in the convent allotted as their place of confinement, and the capuchins came to prepare them for immediate death, that they were aware of the snare which had been laid for them, into which they had so imprudently fallen. When the monks entered, they said, "Do you know the object of our visit?" Torrijos answered, "No! I do not *know* it, but I *presume* what it is." "No lo se, pero lo presumo," meaning that he had no previous knowledge of the fate intended for him, which the arrival of these harbingers of death then made too clear. The single exclamation, "Dios! que traycion!" then escaped his lips. He went instantly round to his unfortunate companions, exhorting them to meet their fate with the firmness becoming them; and they occupied his care and kindness to the last moment. From the testimony of the monks he received their assistance, and no better proof could be given of his superior mind, than the submitting to receive religious rites from men whom, not as individuals, but in their corporate capacity, he knew to be the cause of his untimely and melancholy end. His last words are said to have been

addressed to them, in nearly the following terms: "You have triumphed for the present, but your days are numbered. This generation will not pass away before your existence is terminated, and our children will inherit your possessions."

The execution was worthy the preliminaries to it. There were twenty-seven prisoners, who were taken out in two divisions, each man being tied to the next by ropes. They were thus placed in line upon the beach, and troops drawn up and ordered to fire on them. Every one who is acquainted with military matters is aware what the result must have been. The first division were dispatched with great difficulty, after many discharges. On the second, the young troops, on whom this dreadful duty was imposed, became so horror struck, that they were unequal to the performance of it. I was informed that they actually ran from the ground, and were obliged to be rallied and led up to the victims, in the manner practised in charging an enemy. The natural result was that the bodies were mutilated in the most shocking manner, and after being stripped by the populace, they were thrown into a scavenger's cart and conveyed, in a state of nudity, to the Campo Santo for interment. One was even said to have been discovered to be alive, and was dispatched by the convict who conducted their remains to their last earthly abode.

Amongst the sufferers was an Irish gentleman, of good family, named Boyd, who had embarked in the imprudent enterprize, and could not be persuaded to relinquish it. Every thing was done by the British local authority to save his life, and to prevent the injustice and useless cruelty of executing a defenceless man, in a manner only practised amongst savages, but without avail. His body was recovered, and treated by his countrymen with a degree of

respect which astonished the monks who witnessed the transaction. One of them wrote an account of it, of which I have seen a copy. By a singular coincidence this unfortunate gentleman was, I believe, the first subject deposited in the new burial ground; that at Malaga being the first protestant cemetery permitted in Spain. Effectual care was taken to provide Mr. Boyd with spiritual assistance, and to gain him, if possible, to the faith. An Irish monk was sent for the purpose, but his efforts were quite unavailing. Certainly the sort of arguments used in this instance to support the catholic faith were not likely to win over any persons who before had doubts on the subject. To this zeal was due the only opportunity afforded him of communicating with the Consul, and I have seen an original and most manly letter he wrote, when perfectly prepared for his inevitable fate, but willing to do what might be effected without soliciting the life which he had voluntarily thrown away. A considerable sum of money entrusted to the monk was carefully placed in the hands of the Consul.

There is a striking peculiarity in this transaction, in the case of a British subject. "They manage these things better in France." Every one of the Frenchmen, who were actually taken with arms in their hands, on the field of battle, in Navarre, were set at liberty, and I believe not one of them was executed.

The correspondence of Torrijos and the Governor was a melancholy display of openness, manliness, and candour, incapable of guile or suspecting it in others, with falsehood, meanness, and duplicity.

This transaction was managed solely and entirely between the Governor of Malaga and the government at Madrid. The instant the party was taken, an express was sent off direct, in the mode termed "ganando ho-

ras," which reached the capital in an unusually short time. With the same celerity orders were dispatched for their immediate execution, without the slightest form of trial.

The superior military authority of the province, in this case, was the Captain general of Granada, who happened to be the Conde de los Andes, the last Viceroy of Peru. He was completely excluded from taking any part in the proceedings, and looked down from his elevated station on this scene of iniquity, as the blessed Gods are fabled to have done from Olympus at the storms raging beneath them.

As the Governor of Malaga was under his orders, on whom every thing depended in case of the success of such attempts, he naturally called on him to account why he had not been made acquainted with the proceedings in a regular manner. The answer was that the party was acting in his capacity of chief of the police, which was independent of his military duties; and that he owed him no account, his orders emanating directly from the government itself. Reference was made to Madrid: his view was confirmed, and the Captain general, who was of the ancient and real race of Spain, instantly gave in his resignation, which was accepted; and the other, who had been already promoted for a service which merited a very different recompense, was appointed to command the province in his place.

There can be little use in concealing the name of the individual, who has voluntarily consigned his name to posterity in the annals of his country, in connexion with one of the darkest pages in them. It is Moreno. The government were so far ashamed of the transaction that very little was said about it, but an hypocritical lamentation was published in the Gazette over the fatality, which, it was

said, had urged them to throw away their lives, on their native soil.

It is gratifying that one of the first acts on the fall of Calomarde, by the administration which succeeded, was to supersede this person, and in obscurity he must pass a life sullied by a transaction execrated by every party in Spain.

CHAPTER XIII.

Manners of the people.

THE complaints in Spain are very general, both from their writers and in society, that they have been misunderstood and misrepresented by the various strangers who have visited the country, and given descriptions of it, more especially in those parts which treat of the manners of the people. These complaints are so common and they consider it so natural to travellers to indulge in the strain of vituperation or sarcasm which are frequently found in their books, that they now seldom attend to them, and I do not recollect seeing or hearing of any notice whatever being taken of the last works published in England. We have our full share in these censures, which the French partake with us. The prejudices on these subjects are rapidly passing away, and the extensive intercourse we have daily with foreign nations, is destroying the ancient feeling of exclusive superiority. We, of all people, can best afford to be just and even generous on the subject of morality. The greatness of England, her liberty and influence on the world, are unquestionably owing to the high moral principles of the mass, on which the national character and national feelings are based, and have produced the splendid station we occupy amongst the nations of the earth. We do not add to our stature, physically or morally, by endeavouring unduly to depreciate that of others, and the

opposite course would be more magnanimous, by indulgently considering what allowances are required for those less happily situated than ourselves. Another reason is forcing itself upon us, to make us more candid and just to others; we are not invulnerable ourselves. We have been well dipped, it is true, but the heel or rather a large part has been left out in the operation, and both friends and enemies are endeavouring to assail us upon our weak point. We have shown ourselves rather too sensible to the flippant satire of a stranger, who has returned the hospitality which was showered upon him, by ridiculing the parties; who have thus paid rather dearly the honor of having it inserted in the *Morning Post*, that the Prince —— had attended their soirées, and did not expect a petty German noble would thus turn upon them; showing only a quick and true sense of what is ridiculous in society, but no other earthly talent or knowledge, and demonstrating himself to be incapable of estimating or appreciating a country like England. Yet he is charitable, compared to many writers on Spain, who were equally ignorant with himself, but thought to attack the vitals instead of lacerating the surface, as the natural talent of the German caused him to do. Another reason for our being indulgent towards the Spaniards is, that of all foreign nations, an Englishman is the most respected by them. This feeling still prevails unbroken, although some strange specimens of John Bull's family have been exhibited amongst them of late years, and it is always his own fault if he be not well received and respected in society. There is much more analogy in the characters of our countries, and a real Spaniard and a real Englishman always understand each other, whilst with our neighbours it is inversely, the cases where the two parties really suit each other, being of extraordinarily rare occurrence. The rapid manner in which nearly all who have written on Spain, have passed

through the country, is ample excuse for many mistakes, and incorrect judgments, hastily formed, and often referred to some preconceived theory. So much do the narratives resemble each other, that the country is almost become one of convention, like the portraits of persons who have never been really drawn, but are received as original. The present facilities for travelling are adding to those evils, without increasing the mass of information. In the present mode of managing these things, a man may, with the help of a little Anglo or Scoto French, and the steam boats, get to Rome, and throwing in his modicum to the cauldron of languages there, pass current, but in Spain this is not sufficient. How can the passing three or four pays in a *posada*, or a boarding house, enable any one to judge of the morality of the inhabitants of a large city? It is impossible, whatever be the intelligence of the party, and he must be the dupe of those who chuse to amuse themselves at his expence. Yet on these data are the accounts sent out, which profess to lead the public in other countries. The periodical press, which ought to keep a check on this style of writing, is carried away by the torrent, and, very recently, the most polished and amiable people in existence are compared in one of them to a horde of African savages. No country will bear to be tried by the exceptions. How should we like to have books compiled by foreigners, on the data furnished by proceedings in the law courts, or processes for divorces, in the house of Lords, or the histories, not private, but known to all society, of great families, and individuals, of daily occurrence, which are paraded in the eyes of the public? Or how should we like to hear of accounts being given of the proceedings of Joanna Southcote and her followers? The answer of course would be, these things are true, but they are anomalies and exceptions, and not the rules of society, which is quite uncon-

nected with them. The same is exactly the case in Spain, There is vice, and folly, and hypocrisy, and every other description of evil; but where is there not? We find that even the pure and natural life of the Americans does not preserve them from furnishing their quota to mortality; and the duty of every one is to judge impartially, discriminating between good and evil, and not to be led away by superficial appearances. Every country has, morally and physically, its cloacæ. We should not thank any foreigner who would describe Fleet ditch, and such places, and point them out as exhibiting a picture of London, whilst he omitted to look for the squares, or public edifices, or what was good and noble in the city. But to proceed.

When the line of introduction is passed, no men can be more frank and unreserved in their intercourse, with friends and acquaintance, than the Spaniards. But at the present period, the disasters of the times, the differences of political opinions, and the jealousy of the government, have concurred to break up general society in almost every part of the country. In many principal cities, even in Andalusia, where the people are the most social in the world, there is not a single *tertulia*, or house of general resort, and of easy reception for strangers. This, however, is only a partial evil, fatal to the rapid traveller, or to those who are satisfied with seeing the same manners which prevail in the rest of Europe; the fashion of the day being, to beat down every thing national, and conform as much as possible to the general rules of convention elsewhere. In these places the real manners cannot be studied. The people must be followed into private life, and seen in the interior of their houses and amidst their families. This is only to be done by residing amongst them, and cultivating the good will of men, with whom, from the prince to the beggar, possessing it, you do every thing, and without it, nothing. In the

social relations of life, in the discharge of the duties imposed on men, as Christians, and members of civilized society, they are excelled by no people on earth. A grand distinction of the Spaniards from other nations of the south of Europe is, their domestic habits. No nation is more extensively or thoroughly domestic in all their tastes, habits, and inclinations. They most resemble ourselves in this respect, and it is quite carried as far as in England. The whole character of the people and of society is mixed up with it, and it affects every thing in the situation of Spain. There is hardly any difference in this respect throughout the country. Provincianos, Asturians, Galicians, Castilians, Valencians, Catalans, Andaluzes, or Extremeños, all are alike in this. The manner of doing the honor of their houses to visitors, is quite peculiar to the country. Unless in places of constant resort to strangers, which are very rare, a Spaniard seldom deutes this office to others. It is almost invariably done in person, in a manner quite different from what is seen in any other part of Europe. The rules are so simple, and so conformable to the real customs of politeness, that it is extraordinary they should so completely escape many foreigners, who have committed the most ludicrous mistakes, and have been pronounced to be, *sin educacion*, a dreadful anathema in Spain.* It is not usual to walk into a house covered, nor without returning the grave and polite welcome which awaits every one, whatever be his business, who visits the house. It is unusual to turn the back, or sit with the back turned on any one, even in a public room, where parties are unacquainted. On departing from a house a stranger is accompanied to the door, and frequently beyond it, and he should make a slow and respectful, and not a hurried retreat, above all,

* The expression *sin educacion*, or *no tiene education*, does not mean that a person is uneducated, but that he is ill bred.

being mindful that the master has his eye fixed, and is ready to make a bow and obeisance at the extreme point, where his guest must disappear from his sight. All this passes in a serious manner, without any attempt at display or theatrical effect, as in some countries, or the cold, supercilious politeness of some others, on a constrained or accidental reception. Such is the charm of the manner in which this duty of hospitality is performed, that I have repeatedly accepted invitations to visit houses, where I knew there was nothing curious, merely to witness the inimitable grace with which the owners invariably receive their guests, if only for a temporary visit. The same cordiality attends their reception of strangers, in parts where it is the custom to lodge at the houses of persons to whom you are recommended. To give one instance of the serious light in which the obligation of hospitality is viewed in Spain. A family I knew, of the greatest respectability, were liberals. At the time of the last invasion, the elder son had taken arms and was with Mina in Catalonia, when the French entered. He was wounded, made prisoner, and carried to France. Just as they received this news, the army of the Duke d'Angoulême arrived in the city where they lived. A French officer presented himself with a letter of introduction. Had it happened in France or in any other country but the one in question, it is clear what reception he would have met. Here the sense of politeness overcame every other consideration; and the lady of the house said, "As an individual recommended to us we shall be glad to see you; as a *Frenchman* we can not pay you that compliment." This is the common custom of the country, but it is necessary to know them, before you are on this footing, and it is needless to observe, that it gives great opportunities of judging of the people.

The best Spanish manners combine the degree of frank-

ness and openness, with proper reserve and caution, of seriousness and gravity, with cheerfulness, based on the most perfect philanthropy and respect for others as for self, which probably constitute the perfection of human manners. So pure are they, that the slightest foreign mixture is immediately perceived, and in numberless instances which came under my observation, I never saw one, in which either male or female had gained by residing abroad, although many had done so without their national manners being altered or impaired. Another striking peculiarity is observable; the best informed men I met with in the country, had never been out of it, and viewing the means they have of procuring information, the knowledge possessed by many individuals is quite extraordinary. The men possessed of scientific information, in every instance which came to my knowledge, and whom I had occasion to consult, who were very numerous, I found had almost one invariable character. The utmost simplicity; no pretension, or quackery; the greatest readiness to communicate what information they possessed, and not the slightest attempt at mystery, or concealment, or of warping their own minds, or those of others, by theories or distracted views. Their chief characteristics seem to be strong, plain, shrewd sense, and depth of observation, the most proper foundation for scientific acquirements; and the respect those who seek information are treated with, and the readiness with which their wishes are gratified, by every one, are the certain proof of the natural intelligence of the people. It unfortunately happens that most of the men of scientific knowledge and pursuits, now in Spain, are in the decline of life, and few of the present generation seemed preparing to take their places. It is to be hoped that the times were the cause of this, and that it will now be otherwise. The state of morals in Spain has

excited the curiosity of most who have visited the country, and have up to the present time vied with each other, most unintentionally no doubt, in libelling and misrepresenting it. Most of these writers, of all countries, attack the women either openly or indirectly, especially the Andaluzas, against whom every one shoots his tiny shaft. One of our writers used the expression "the unprecedented faithlessness of the women," an opinion founded on the most perfect ignorance of their character. No women certainly less deserve such an imputation. Infidelity, which no doubt occurs, is the exception, and not the rule. Beyond all question, vice exists amongst them, but in what country does it not? If the average through Spain be taken, there is no doubt that in no part of civilized Europe would the balance be turned against her in the present day. The greatest feature in the national character is, as it always has been, fidelity to engagements, and there are extremely rare instances of women failing in their duty, when they are properly treated, and not left and instigated, as it sometimes happens, to act otherwise. One celebrated instance of female profligacy, was caused by the retort or reply of the husband, when remonstrated with for infidelity, which was of a nature no woman could ever pardon, much less an Andaluza, although the mode of revenge cannot be defended. So little is infidelity in the character of the women, that instances constantly occur, of faithful and disinterested conduct in vicious connexions, which have been lost by the neglect or mismanagement of the rightful possessor of them. In forgiving infidelities they are extremely generous, provided it be not attended with insult or aggravation; there are frequent occurrences of it, where the rival is of superior beauty, and the temptation is very great. The resentment in those instances falls probably on the rival. In this instance it was directly the reverse. With the quick feel-

ing they possess, no women judge more accurately or justly of their own claims to personal admiration, or those of others. They are accustomed from early youth to be rallied on their defects, as well as complimented on their opposite qualities, with the frankness which is so strong a feature of the national character. In no country are better examples of domestic and connubial happiness to be found, even in cases where there is a disparity of age, and other reasons might tend to cause the contrary. The young women are brought up, in the better families, entirely with a view to their becoming mistresses of houses, and they possess all the talents natural to their sex, in a degree excelled by no other. In the provinces they are accustomed from childhood to trot after their mothers to the bazaars; and in the Moorish cities, may be still seen in mantilla, perfect miniatures of the stately matron whom they follow. As soon as they are able, they are intrusted with the management of business on their own account, and may be seen, while very young, bargaining and reasoning and wheedling the dealers. Their education is almost entirely managed at home. Strong prejudices exist against seminaries, and there are scarcely any religious societies for the purpose, as in other catholic countries. So great is the dislike to these places that, even in these disastrous times, few families allow their daughters to be placed in them. The younger girls are taught by the elder, and they may be constantly seen, after dancing all night, working indefatigably all day, without languor or ennui, at household work or embroidery, which is their constant occupation. They are consummate mistresses of economy and management, at least the better class of them. In the interior their houses are in general admirably conducted, with perfect skill and regularity. So well is every thing managed in which they are concerned, that some zealots have as-

serted that if the reins of government were in their hands, it would be much better. In many respects there is the most complete contrast in the character and manners of these people from the Italians, who might be supposed the most to resemble them. In Tuscany, which is one of the best parts of Italy, a patriotic and most laudable society of ladies was formed, to instruct the young women in the arts of housekeeping and domestic management as practised in the north of Europe, with the idea of improving their social and moral condition. In Spain this would have been a complete work of supererogation. Every house, especially in the south, could have furnished individuals capable of instructing or directing any who might require it. I believe the metropolis, in the upper classes of society, must be exempted from this rule. I was at an inn in a large town in the south of France, where on asking for a needle, they were obliged to send out to purchase one, not a female in the house possessing such a thing. In Spain it would have been impossible to find such a case. In the south especially, women of the highest rank may be seen sitting in the interior of their houses, in the plainest attire, with their maidens arranged around them, engaged in household work in the ancient style; and in the wealthy houses the departments are allotted to them exactly as to the *ταμιαί* of the Odyssey.

There is another striking difference in the customs of Spain, from those of the rest of the south of Europe. In the towns of the interior of Italy, it is still the custom for the men to rise at daybreak, and assemble in their cloaks in the piazza, or other place of general rendezvous. This is undoubtedly a practice of high antiquity, probably descending directly from the times when justice was administered in the *αγορὰν*, at that period of the day. In Spain no such custom is found, their habits being derived, in

great measure from the Arabs, who I believe do not follow that usage. They do not rise early in general, retiring at dark to their houses, like the orientals. Excepting in the metropolis, very little motion is seen in the streets after eight or nine o'clock, unless in the heat of summer. Amongst many minor differences between these nations, is a very marked one. In the absurd refinement of the old Italian *cortesia*, it is forbidden to mention the feet, but with an apology for so doing, as to an unclean part. In Spain it is the daily homage to the fair, and they cannot be alluded to, too frequently.

The rules of etiquette with women are extremely strict, and their attention to the calls of duty unbounded. I have known an instance of a party giving up a ball, at which they very much desired to be present, because a letter was wanting from a relation, residing at Paris, during the cholera, and they thought it proper to do so, although they had no reason to believe him ill.

The cheerfulness with which all ranks and classes bear misfortune and privation of any kind, and reduction of circumstances, which are too common in every part of Spain, is beyond belief. A complaint is never heard. There is an innate dignity in the people, which prevents their ever making any; and in the confidence of unbounded intimacy they always observe this, perhaps the only reserve.

In the places where there certainly is vice, as is the case in one or two well known cities, it is so far from being general, that families and entire circles live in the midst of apparent corruption, the breath of slander never assailing them. The tolerance shown to women who are incorrect is one cause of the errors which are current respecting Spanish society in general. This may be wrong, but it does not suppose vice on the part of others.

Notwithstanding this tolerance, and that there is no pre-

tension to do it, a very great check is kept by the women, who really lead and have influence in society, over their own sex, and no woman who is incorrect is looked on in the light of those who are otherwise. The same may be said of both sexes. No man has really weight or influence, if he be not of moral conduct, and it is a point of the utmost importance, to those who reside amongst them in official situations, or who require public support and countenance, and are in contact with society at large. The extreme freedom of speaking, especially on subjects which the women for their own sakes should not allow to be alluded to, has also caused much error. This style of conversation is highly objectionable, on the score of taste, but it does not constitute vice; neither does a polite or easy repulse of an improper demand, instead of the indignant feeling it excites in other countries, prove that the individual is corrupt.

The public eye is never offended in Spain, by those violations of decency, seen in most other countries, in the individuals who live by vicious habits, as is so generally the case. In the capital, and in the seaport towns, there is, of course, as every where else, abundance of it; but in general it is quite otherwise, and you may see in one evening ten times more disgusting vice in London, than in the whole of Spain, in a long period. The distress and misery of the times, with the passion for dress, which is the great cause of female profligacy all over Europe, no doubt operates in Spain, and instances of their effect may be found without difficulty. With equal ease the most noble and disinterested superiority to temptation may be found.

What has been observed respecting the situation of the sexes in Spain is confirmed by observation of the habitual deportment to each other. In no country are the sex treated with more real deference or respect, at the same time with the greatest freedom and unreservedness of man-

ners. The same degree of respect never accompanies relaxation of morals, nor is it compatible with it. The young people of opposite sexes, in circles where they are intimate, live on terms of freedom, with the most perfect tact and delicacy, not only compatible with virtue, but incompatible with any other habits. In elder life the same unbounded intimacy often continues, and it is common to meet with people who have seen each other every day for many years. When once in intimacy nothing can be more delightful than the converse of the real and well educated Spaniards. Cervantes has laid down an axiom, which regulates all the conduct of life, as regards manners; "Sin discrecion no hay gracia," meaning that in hilarity and unreservedness, there is a line, which must not be passed. It is the knowledge of this line which constitutes the charm and grace of the national manners. In general, as before observed, the greatest deference is always shown by one person or class to another. This and the respect due to self, constitutes real dignity, of which you see more than in all other countries, and which seems natural to the people.

The most marked and striking difference is observable in the conduct of the French, in the same class of society, who are seen in the world, as every one familiar with that country has noticed. In the manners of them and of the Italians, but in a much less degree, is seen the difference between mere mechanical attention and politeness, and that founded on real gallantry and respect, as is universal in Spain. The stories related of the remains of chivalric feeling to the sex are perfectly true. The remains of the manners of that age, which were shared equally by Moors and Christians, are strongly mixed in the customs of every part of the country. Nothing is seen in any part of Europe like the gallantry of the manner the *majos* in Andalusia woo and court their *novias*, in the *fiestas* or convivial meet-

ings. The people in the south of France, and in Italy, who practise the same modes, are clowns and rustics compared to them. The women are not pushed out of their sphere and place as in some countries, where the manners are more modern, and their deportment is always easy, natural, and most feminine. Their voices are occasionally strong, but are always contrasted with the tones of the men, whose intonation is even deeper than that of the Italians. In many parts, especially in the Moorish provinces, are the sweetest voices in the world. There is one description of voice, of melting and liquid tones, varying from the softest to the strongest, at the will of the director, which is quite peculiar to the country. The voices are generally in perfect harmony and keeping. The contrast of the masculine manners and hoarse voice of the dowager, with the lisping accents of the effeminate and sapless stripling, are never heard, even at Madrid, where all innovations are so gladly imported. In some instances in the upper ranks, women are seen, whose deportment is exactly what we imagine of the high-born dames of chivalry, who, if they ever existed elsewhere, have now disappeared. They are rare even in Spain; but they may be found in the south. It is needless to observe, that the women possessing these claims to admiration, must be virtuous.

An instance occurred lately of the power of these women in a very difficult case. A man was condemned to death, for a political offence. His wife solicited an audience of the King, which was granted, as customary, in such cases, when she pleaded his cause with such effect, that he was not only pardoned, but an employment ordered to be given to him. In a great many instances which came to my knowledge whilst in the country, the address of the women who repaired to the capital for that purpose, procured

pardon or commutation of punishment, for offences which were seldom forgiven.

The servants and inferiors in rank are treated with the utmost kindness and humanity, by all ranks of society. No one in Spain would serve on other terms. No abuse of this licence is ever seen, and they are in general extremely faithful. The penal laws against robbery by servants are so severe, that they are seldom prosecuted when such cases occur, and I have heard that the law ought to be altered, in order to make it efficacious, but these examples are rare. During the time I was in Spain, where I was very much exposed to depredation, I never lost a single article of any kind.

Attention to invalids is common in Spain, and no women in the world excel them in assiduity or delicacy in the performance of those offices, which are only effectually rendered by the female sex. I was an accidental witness to an instance of the unaffected and natural manner in which these customs are grafted on private life.

I went to pay a visit to a family of high birth and opulence, who had always lived in possession of the highest official rank and consequence. The lady of the house appeared in dishabille; she apologized for the absence of her daughter, saying that an old servant, who had brought up the whole family, and for whom they had the greatest regard, had been taken ill, and that she had left her applying leeches to assuage the pain. Soon afterwards the young lady, who was a person of distinguished grace and elegance, came in, also in dishabille. She reported to her mother, in a low voice, that the leeches had taken, and then, remarking to me that I was to look on their receiving me thus as a compliment, entered into conversation as usual.

Among the lower classes, and those a little more ele-

vated in the scale, local attachments are probably stronger than with any other people. They far exceed the feeling so vaunted by the Swiss, and the whole character of the nation is tinged with it. It prevents their travelling or emigrating, but from necessity, and is a powerful bar to their entering the military life, which they would seldom do voluntarily, and it occasions the habit of desertion so frequent in their armies. In the lower orders the effect of hearing of their native place, of any stranger going or having been there, is quite singular; and I have known in families the servants called, to tell them that the *caballero* was acquainted with their home, which always excites a feeling of pleasure; nor is there any surer preliminary to the good will of these people, than the praising or expressing interest about their birth place. This amiable feeling extends some distance upwards in society, and you frequently hear men taking the first opportunity of saying, amongst strangers, with heartfelt pride, *soy hijo de*—"I am son of such a place." In the upper ranks, as in other countries, these feelings are more deadened, or the expression of them is withheld.

In no country is the power of prescriptive custom in society so strongly and deeply marked. It is one of the indelible marks remaining of ancient liberty; the laws voluntarily imposed for its own guidance, being far stronger in a free people, than any imperial or royal decrees. In a sultry day, in the height of summer, the men of Burgos, who are amongst the *rancio*, old and pure races of Spain, were seen promenading in heavy black cloaks. On being asked the reason for wearing so inconvenient a costume, *Aquí es costumbre*, "It is customary here," was the laconic and expressive answer. I witnessed a bull fight, in the depth of winter, which had been ordered on the occasion of the marriage of the King. A piercing cold pre-

vailed, which made the attendance very thin. It was accompanied by a strong wind, blowing quite upon the *sombra* or shaded part, where the president sat. He remained uncovered the whole time, and no doubt would have sacrificed his life, which he risked, rather than depart from ancient usage, as the representative of the King.

A great deal is said abroad of the fanaticism and bigotry of the Spaniards. During the time I was in Spain, when I had very ample opportunities of seeing the people, I never met with an instance, in clergy or laity of any description, of either one or other. I have seen many instances of ill behaviour on the part of foreigners, but never the least on that of the natives. The spirit of the age and greater intercourse with strangers may have done something to produce this feeling, but I believe it has always been so. What has been taken for intolerance, is more probably the severity of custom, and the strictness, common to all ranks, in conforming to established etiquette. The saying of the people of Burgos may be taken as a motto of the country, and the "*aquí es costumbre*" will explain many things which have been attributed hastily to other motives. There are some customs yet preserved, to which a stranger is expected to conform, but as a matter of good breeding more than any thing else, as the tolling of the bell at sunset, when every one stops for an instant, and the effect in the *paseos* is extremely beautiful, especially at Seville, where groupes of the peasants are seen kneeling, on the bank of the river. The similar practice at noon seems on the decline. The kneeling to the host is now not expected, but it is customary to take off the hat. I cannot conceive the objection made by many people to these forms, which are only matters of politeness, and deference to the customs of a most polished people, and they certainly have the spirit of religion in them. The arresting the attention in the middle of amuse-

ment, or distraction of worldly cares, and reminding you that the day is at hand when they must cease, is religion, although we may not commune with those whose custom it is. The same may be said of the service in the churches. If people chuse to attend during religious ceremonies, they ought either to conform to the manners of those engaged in them, or take another time for their visit. If it were the custom to admit strangers to our places of worship, we should not like to see them standing up, or hear them talking during the communion service; yet this is constantly done by foreigners in Spain, and they may be even heard to boast of doing what, to say the least, is ill breeding. Another simple and religious ceremony, in use in this country, is the proclaiming by a bell tolling in the parish church, whenever it is announced that an individual has departed. The number of times the bell is struck, according to the sex, and the particular mode of doing it, distinguish it from the other modes of ringing. Whatever may be thought abroad, the Spaniards at present are very much like other nations in religious feeling. There is a great deal of unaffected piety, some irreligion, and some bigotry, the average being as elsewhere. The classes may be easily pointed out. The religious part are the heads of families, and the upper and well educated members of society. The irreligious are the same classes as hold these doctrines in France, and Germany, and Italy. The bigotry is amongst the peasantry and a few others.

Although the lines of demarcation in society are strongly marked, and the commercial class and others above them, have little intercourse with each other; in the sea ports and commercial towns, these different ranks meet in public and in their amusements, without difficulty, and without the slightest pretension on the part of the one to despise, or the other to lower themselves, by seeking to push out of

their sphere, which cause such ridiculous scenes in other countries. No undue assumption of rank in Spain would be of any use; the lines and rules of society are fixed, and a man who should arrogate to himself any claim of nobleness, superior to those about him, would be laughed to scorn; much less is the miserable and contemptible system of coteries, and of belonging to sets, huddling together, and shunning contact with the rest, known in Spanish society. The women, in public, are models of ease, and grace, and self possession. A lady at a ball must dance with any one who asks her, but no acquaintance ensues unless particular introduction, or circumstances produce it. No dowagers are seen watching and calculating their daughters' chances, and eyeing with jealous looks those who may approach, whether they weigh in the balance, and may be permitted, or are to be judged presumptuous, and repulsed for daring to do so. So free are the peasantry and lower orders in their bearing, that if a native of an unknown region were conducted over Europe, and desired to point out the people who had the most of freemen in their manners, he would unquestionably point out, without hesitation, the Spaniards.

The mild and unassuming manners which prevail throughout all ranks, and the mutual respect every individual in all classes has for the others, preserve them from the churlish feeling which is a set off, so generally, to the independence of the northern nations. In humble life, I have frequently had opportunities of observing the French, and other foreigners, in contact with the natives, and in presence of their superiors in rank. All of them yield to the unaffected dignity and simplicity of demeanor of the Spaniards, who are distinguished from any others in an instant. Many circumstances concur to keep up the harmony of the machine of society, of which every part is

duly attuned. The people of every rank meet in the churches, at the public festivals, and almost invariably in the paseos, on the days set apart for public recreation. Even at Madrid, which is the least Spanish of any place, the Grandees go as regularly to the Prado as any other class, and mix indiscriminately with the crowd. So little is the wretched system, borrowed from the old French nobility, and introduced of later years in England, known, of secluding and separating parts of society from the others, that a nobleman would be considered wanting to his place, if he did not appear like the rest.

If a grandee be travelling, and pass through a room where peasants are dining, as he constantly must, he will be invited to partake, not as it would be done elsewhere, but in a manner as if he was really an equal, and he must give a civil answer, or be considered to be *sin educacion*. At the *plaza de toros*, or in the Prado, if any one ask him for a light, he must take his cigar from his mouth, and give it, under the same penalty. The peasant who receives this attention has his manners formed accordingly; he is always in his place, neither forgetting what is due to his superior in station, nor to himself. It is owing to these circumstances, that there is so little jarring, or jealousy of rank amongst the real Spaniards. Although I have heard great latitudes in political and religious and various other doctrines, I never heard any one speak to the prejudice of the nobility, nor do I believe any such feeling exists. If it does, it is on the part of some who have lived in France and imbibed their prejudices. This part of the machine is worked in a similar manner to that described in the account of the church, and is founded on a perfect knowledge of the state of society and of the people. Had these manners prevailed in France, no burning of chateaux, or other horrors, would in all probability have taken place. At Madrid, although the

royal family mix very little with society, and the old rigorous etiquette is kept up, the King is abundantly accessible to his subjects. The magnificent chapel of the palace is always open during the time of mass, although it is in the interior of the building, and every one is freely admitted. The only condition of entry is to be decently dressed, and without a *capa*.

There are steps taken in every part to keep up and augment those most useful appendages to large cities, the *pas-eos*, or public walks. There is scarcely a place, where additions or new plans are not carrying on, amid all the distress of the times. What is done is executed with a degree of taste combined with grandeur and solidity, which are admirable, and peculiar to the country. A failure or badly executed plan is never seen, and the public have the full and entire benefit of every thing that is done. The walks of Granada, Seville, Zaragoza, Valencia, and Barcelona, in particular, are unequalled by those of any provincial cities in Europe, and all ranks and classes are seen mingled, on public days, as at Vienna. It is not improbable that the language itself assists in this sort of equality amongst the different ranks of society. I heard a foreigner, of extremely aristocratic ideas, remark as a *defect* in the language, that there was no difference between the style of speaking of high or low. In fact, the *grandees* of Spain, and the peasants of La Mancha, or the raggamuffins and tatterdemalions of Segovia or Avila, are scarcely to be distinguished in their language. It is rather better than the forced and unnatural manner now practised by many persons in England, in order to affect a superiority, by corrupting the language, where none exists. As far as Spanish is concerned, it is to be hoped it will remain as it is, unless they can make it still more pure. The process alluded to resembles endeavouring to turn gold into copper.

The amusements at present are the theatres, which are almost universally fallen into discredit, and are so little frequented, that they can scarcely exist, excepting in a very few places. Music is very much cultivated, and the state seems increasing. I was lodged in a fonda, in a provincial town, where the daughters played the piano in very good style, having a regular master. Public balls are given in some of the large towns, and in others, subscription balls, which are the most pleasant part of general society. Concerts and private dances are also given, but at present more rarely. The jealousy of the government has in a great measure prevented masked balls of late, although they are a very favorite amusement. To these assemblies, in the provinces, there is no difficulty in obtaining access; and they generally see strangers willingly who are recommended, often showing a predilection for them. It is far otherwise at Madrid, as before mentioned, where the prejudices of ignorance are in full force. *late*

The ancient costume of Spain is fast abolishing, and in another generation bids fair to disappear entirely. At Seville, the women who followed the court at the time of the entry of the duc d'Angoulême, carried the heterogeneous mixture which is seen in the walks at Madrid, and it was immediately adopted. At Cadiz it was maintained until the French garrison took possession, when the *basquiña* disappeared, notwithstanding the known hostility of the Gauditanas to the invasion. A most ungraceful costume was substituted, which destroys the figure as much as the ancient dress displayed it, and reduces all forms to the same level. Some few have contrived to mix the two, preserving a mixture of the new and ancient dress with consummate taste, but these instances are unhappily rare. The mantilla yet maintains its place in the provinces, and even at Madrid it is by far the most common dress. Several reasons concur

to make it probable this will remain, and the most beautiful costume yet invented by woman be preserved. The chief is the rigorous prohibition of entering churches otherwise than veiled. This is so strictly enforced, that ladies have been obliged to leave them, who had inadvertently disobeyed the injunction. As there are many reasons for its continuance, and the church are not much disposed to innovation, there is not the slightest chance of this order being relaxed. Another powerful reason is the feeling of the middle and lower ranks of society, who dread the introduction of a costume which they could not afford to wear. I have heard the ladies confess frequently, that this alone prevented them going to the paseo with bonnets, as they would wish to do, and in some parts, still, the populace will not allow a foreign costume to be seen. The attachment of the women to a head dress as ungraceful and unbecoming as their own is the contrary, is surprising. Should it ever become general, the glory of Spain, the carriage of the head, which is produced by the adjusting the mantilla, will depart; and those who habitually wear the bonnet, may even now be distinguished from the others. The comb was in disgrace, when I left Spain, by the example of some one who had been abroad, but the change was not universal, and so bad a taste cannot in all probability long maintain its ground. The Andaluzas, who ought to be the last to adopt foreign styles, are amongst the leaders in favouring innovations, and heterodox doctrines. Many of them have the same unnatural hostility to the national costume as the peasants have to the trees, and, if they could, would extirpate it entirely. The passion for foreign hairdressing is extraordinary. The figures of the latest mode of coiffure, in lithography, are sent to Madrid, and immediately circulated and adopted. So rigorous is fashion in this respect, that in one of the largest cities in Spain, there was only one man

who was considered competent to prepare for a ball, whilst in every family, at least one of the party could dress hair much better, in their own graceful and simple mode. An instance is recorded in the same city, of a party who had actually given up a journey in order to be present at a ball. When the time came they were dressed excepting the hair. The coiffeur not arriving, rather than not go in the mode, although it was entirely a private meeting, they absolutely gave it up, after sitting in full dress till past midnight, and this for the sake of a preposterous fashion, in which they were disfigured by quantities of pomade and other matters, to produce a heavy imitation of the natural effect of the comb on their lovely tresses. In general, the dressing their beautiful hair is an amusement to the young women, who frequently visit each other for the purpose, and pass a portion of time in this harmless recreation.

The monotony of society in Madrid has been lately broken in upon, and the foundation of a new system attempted to be laid, by a character who, by his own account, was influenced by the most patriotic feelings, and desired to show the rest of Europe that his country was not so far behind as many persons had asserted. His early history and origin are rather obscure. He was partner in a house, of which the principals were obliged to expatriate themselves, for transactions which made their remaining in Spain impossible. This individual contrived to stay behind, and commenced lending money on pledges, a most lucrative business, in a country where the rate of interest is so high that a man who has the misfortune of being obliged to borrow a small sum, is frequently ruined for life. I have heard instances, where a monthly interest at the rate of more than two hundred per cent per annum was paid. Being already established during the invasion of the French, he was favored by those disastrous times, and made a

considerable fortune, forming a sort of connexion in society with many who were obliged to him for assistance. He was naturally desirous of emerging from the sea of mud in which he was entangled, like some of the spirits of Dante, by his early history and occupation, and by circumstances in his personal history, which would have effectually kept him down, in most places. He could not however, attempt to commence operations at Madrid, but repaired to Paris, where he gave entertainments on a large scale; and to London, where, according to his own account, he made a great figure, and was considered a grandee of Spain, and a lion of the season, rivalling even Puckler Musker himself; the parties being ignorant that the possession of wealth was strong evidence in these times against his being of that rank, and that his claims were exactly of the sort to invalidate his title. From thence he returned to his own country, and determined to make the novel experiment, of raising himself and playing a part in society, where it is so fixed and regular, that such an attempt might be compared to those disruptions in the physical world, caused by bodies from beneath forcing their way, and altering the situation of the strata they traverse. The great difficulty was to know how to proceed, in order to procure the attendance of people at his fêtes. It was very doubtful who would visit him. In the provinces it would have been impossible to succeed. In the mixed and heterogeneous society of Madrid, it had a partial success, being favored by an unusually dull season. He sent invitations to many eminent persons, who in general never noticed them. Letters were forwarded in great numbers to Paris, and to other places in Europe; and time was given for the arrival of personages who, it was supposed, would order post horses forthwith, and travel to Madrid, in the depth of winter, when the Somosierra was covered with

snow, at the bidding of this illustrious individual, to meet persons who considered themselves insulted by his presumption in inviting them. In order to give eclat, and to settle the unsteady, as well as to entrap the unwary, in an evil hour, it was given out that a branch of the royal family, who occasionally go to private entertainments, would be present. As in Madrid, like other places, the great are said to be quite as curious to know what is passing in the little world, as the others are to know what is going on amongst those above them, this was soon carried to the ears of the personage in question, who immediately sent a gentleman of her suite to the usurer, charged to acquaint him in her name, that reports had reached her, of his having asserted, that she intended to visit him: that she felt herself dishonored by such a report being circulated, and that at his peril, he must instantly go to every house where he had said it, and contradict it in her name. This man is a solitary instance, in these days, of a person, enriched by public robbery, making a display of his wealth. In general the rule is inversely. The same infelicity that attends all public administration and management extends to this. The money obtained in whatever manner rarely returns to circulation, but is hoarded up, or transported to other countries. This class of persons, in general, affect greater simplicity than their neighbours, rather than greater splendour. There are many reasons for this, but the chief is that it was difficult, in these times, for a man known to be rich, to escape persecution. Riches had exactly the same effect as in Turkey, and precisely the same system was followed of secreting them. In other respects, there is a wide difference in the history of these men. In some countries, their descendants, and often the persons themselves, as soon as they have effected their object, turn round, and vehemently oppose the system by

means of which they have emerged from obscurity, as if to conceal their origin. In Spain it is not so. They are obliged to remain as they were, the contrary course being dangerous, and of no use, where society is in general fixed and stable.

The history of this man is given with a detail not merited by the individual himself, but to show the breaking in upon old established custom. A few years ago, the thing was impracticable, and he must have remained amongst his money bags. If the system be changed or modified, so that it is no longer unsafe to appear rich, and that those who have acquired wealth, can safely display it, it is not unlikely that a foundation may be laid for a new class of society. There are not wanting, in all the large towns, people who are rich from success in various ways, but have no means of employing their capital, and are afraid to exhibit it. There are appearances of such a change taking place; the prestige of high birth is fast passing away, and heavy complaints are made of the disposition to substitute money for armorial quarterings, and the decreasing respect paid to real birth, by the worshippers of the new order of things.

The prejudices, by which the pure Spanish blood is considered superior to that of the Moorish or mixed, is one of the curious characteristics of the old customs of the country. The Moors had certainly an impure religion, and were finally unfortunate in their magnificent conquest, but if lineage be any thing, the blood of Arabia must, in the history of the human race, rank higher than any from Europe.

The young ladies in the cities, begin to contract, with feeble opposition from their elders, those *mésalliances*, which were impracticable, in the better families, a generation back. These are, however, exceptions; in general the

rule is otherwise; with the nobility there is a sudden termination of the chain of society, and a vast hiatus separates these castes from the mercantile part of the community. The want of a real middle class is felt in common with all the old monarchies in Europe. The absurdity of a system, which makes peasants and beggars noble, as is the case in some parts, whilst the most opulent merchants, or labradores are excluded, is quite evident. Until lately there were distinctions in the mode of execution of common criminals; the noble, on exhibiting his patents of descent, being allowed the privilege of the *garrote*, or being strangled, instead of hanged! It was made in an execution at Madrid for a common murder in 1830. It is however now altered, and the *garrote*, divided into classes, I believe regulated by the garment worn, is now the general mode of supreme punishment for civil offences. This commutation of the mode of punishment was given to the Queen, as an act of grace to the monarchy, on the second child being born in 1832! It cannot be denied that the last is the better mode of punishment. The culprit is seated in a chair, with a large pad before his neck, which is attached to a powerful screw with handles behind. When the signal is given, the screw is tightened, and in an instant the office is executed with the same rapidity as the guillotine, without the offensive parts of that mode of punishment.

In familiar intercourse with this people, much amusement is afforded, by the rallying of the inhabitants of the different parts of the kingdom on their respective peculiarities. As many of these are founded on what is really the basis of the character of the inhabitants, it may be worth while to state the opinions in common currency amongst them. The Andaluzes afford more amusement than any other people in Spain. They are celebrated for the gentility and gallantry of their manners, for great volubility

of speech, and are inimitable in what are called *gracias*, or witty sayings. They are accused of being fickle and unsteady, but it is doubtful if they are more so than others. They are, however, most unquestionably given to amusement and enjoyment rather than labour, and to dress, and social relaxation. I was in a large hotel in the north, where a picador, an Andaluz, was confined some days, from wounds he had received at Pamplona. With his *gracias* he so captivated the numerous females in the house, that their assiduity in attending him was quite extraordinary. Whenever he was moved about, every one in the place made a point of attending; and his cure was very much accelerated by the care bestowed on him, in a part where they habitually ridicule his country.

The lower orders of Valencians, whatever be the cause, are not liked by the other Spaniards, and lie under an universal prejudice, of being unfaithful and treacherous. Certainly, in their manners, there is a jealous distrust and suspicion observable, which is found nowhere else, and which is the aversion of the real Spaniard, whose character is quite the reverse. In the valuable quality of industry, however, they are amongst the first, and their country is excelled by none in Europe, in agricultural skill and management. The upper ranks are considered amongst the best in Spain, and the old Spanish society is to be found there in equal degree with any other.

The Murcians are little mentioned; the kingdom is small, and they are probably to be placed in the same class with the Valencians, but they appeared to me to possess the African character even still more strongly, and the ancient uses are still more strictly kept. The late innovations in dress are not tolerated, and no women can appear but in *mantilla*; an example it were very much to be wished the populace would follow in all parts. The reason of

this country and Valencia retaining the Moorish character so much more than Andalusia, in some respects, seems to be that they were subdued more early, and remained quiet afterwards. From that circumstance they were permitted to retain the costume, which is nearly the same as in Africa. The Andaluzes not only resisted longer, but were subdued at an unfortunate period, when the tyranny of the Inquisition was coming into play, and the system was adopted of forcing them to renounce their Moorish dress and habits together, which destroyed the industry and energy of the people, and has made the country the desert it now is. It is true the banishment of the Moriscos extended equally to Valencia, but the jealousy was much less of that province, and the condensed tyranny of those who devised the plans of governing the kingdom by religious dogmata, in the manner of the Mahometans, but with less tolerance, was poured on the unhappy region of the west. The races of Moors mentioned by Cervantes, I think, are three. I should imagine they are those of Andalusia; of Valencia and Murcia; and of Aragon, all of which are very different from each other. The middle race are the only portion which are really industrious in the present day. The Moriscos are accused by some of the Spanish writers of that time, as if it were a fault, of being thrifty and parsimonious, and saving the money they made, instead of squandering it as fast as it came. I believe this habit still prevails amongst the people of Valencia; but in Andalusia it is just the reverse, and the beau ideal of these writers is now the general custom, as there cannot be a more thoughtless or improvident race than they are in general become.

The Catalans are a quite different race from any of the rest of Spain. The early habits of republicanism and independence, and of industry and activity resulting from them, have never been changed, and they are one of the

most industrious races in Europe, patient and unintermitting in their pursuits, and unchanging in their habits. They are perhaps the most valuable population of the whole, in an economical point of view, and if the rest of Spain resembled their province, it would hold the station it ought to occupy in Europe. They are found everywhere, but have the reluctance of all other people in fixing permanently out of their country. They would be by far the best materials for emigration, and colonization of the deserts of the south and centre. The cottage economy system, of working by the women and children, is better understood than in any other part, and they are seen sitting at the doors in the manner of the Tuscans, working embroidery for sale, in the intervals of more serious labour. There are peculiarities in the manners and character, which excite the amusement of all other classes of Spaniards. Their dialect is extremely uncouth, and their manners rough and unpolished, compared to the greater part of the others. They are extremely 'close, parsimonious, and reserved in their dealings. They congregate together in the manner of the Scotch, and Swiss, whom they very much resemble, and in all dealings where they at present exercise influence over the government, stick together, just in the manner of our northern neighbours. In fact they represent the industrious and commercial Scotch in England, and the Piedmontese or Lombards, in Italy. There is a sort of ridicule attached to the name, on account of these peculiarities, and the term of *Catalan cerrado*, close Catalan, is a current expression to designate those who have the national habits. They frequently answer, on being asked what country they are of, which is a common question in Spain, "Soy de la corona de Aragon," I belong to the kingdom of Aragon, knowing the amusement the name of Catalan often affords.

There is a great variety in the wide province of Aragon. In the upper part, near the Pyrenees, the people are a quite different caste from those on the Ebro, who are a savage Moorish race, the most ill looking of all the people in Spain. The capital is much like the other large towns, the people being highly polished in their manner, but in the interior of the country, they are behind, and are a point of comparison, for rudeness, to the rest. It is probable that in the small towns, which have scarcely any communication with the rest, when the people are occasionally thrown into society, their deportment may be tinged with local prejudice, and have given rise to this reputation. The small towns, in most parts, have a petty *noblesse*, or *hidalgua*, a kind of squirearchy; gentry of pride, ignorance and poverty, only differing from the peasantry around them, as they are really more ignorant, and less useful to the community. This class, which is the worst in Spanish society, abounds, it is said, in Aragon, and they are a fertile subject for ridicule. I have heard the expression applied to something said extremely *grossier*, "That might do for a *capitan de dragones* from Aragon," but this proceeds probably from the little intercourse and knowledge of many parts of it. I know one place, however, in high Aragon, where there are petty *noblesse*, exactly in the style of the worst description of Spanish pride, which is seldom met with in the present day, and must be studied in these distant spots.

The Navarrinos are extremely patriotic, frank to rudeness, but honest and trustworthy, and moderately industrious, extremely proud and punctilious in their bearing. In other respects, they resemble the rest of the people in the northern provinces. The upper ranks are better educated than in most places, and the intercourse with France gives

them facilities for acquiring information. The people of the free provinces are described in the account of their country. They are perfect republicans, and of the best style, being more polished, and free from the coarse rudeness, vulgarity, and self interestedness of the common Swiss. They are proud in their bearing, especially the Biscayners, who are all noble by birthright. The country abounds in industry, but in great measure it is due to the women, who are excelled in this respect by none on earth. The men are given to indulgence at the table, and are wine drinkers, which is unusual in Spain. These people would make admirable subjects for colonization, as would most of those from the northern part of Spain; but it would be necessary to enable them to preserve their customs and laws as much as possible, which is difficult. They are found in great numbers at Madrid, in confidential situations, as servants and the like, but they always retain the desire of returning to their native mountains. In grace their women rival the Andaluzas, and their *basque* accent and the sweetest voices in the world give a charm to their appearance and manners. The Basque women have, in general, clear and brilliant complexions, and the most beautiful hair in the world. From some peculiarity of temperament, their teeth are seldom good, and decay early; the reverse being the case with the Moorish races, who have the most beautiful teeth, derived from their Arab ancestors. The walk of the Andaluzas is a short step, the feet straight, and the weight bearing on the outer part of the foot. When hurrying home, as they may be seen in the southern towns, if taken by rain, or going out *tapada*, their steps are merely quickened, but not lengthened, and the perpendicular of the body and head never left. The Basque race have more of a striding gait, and are easily known in any part of Spain by

a peculiar mode of throwing the leg forward. The carriage of the head is, however, second only to that of the Andaluzas.

The Asturians are found almost every where and many principal families in the new world derive their origin from these wild mountains. They possess the sterling qualities necessary to secure confidence in their employers. Notwithstanding the rudeness of the peasantry, this province has given its full quota to the republic of arts and letters, from the earliest to the very latest period.

The Galicians are a most laborious and emigrating race, exercising the laborious occupations the indolent and enervated inhabitants of the large cities cannot perform themselves. They represent the Irish in London, the Savoyards and Auvergnats at Paris, and the inhabitants of Romagna and the Abruzzi at Rome. They make money, often fortunes, by their industry, always returning at certain intervals to their native provinces, in the manner of the Italians, Swiss, and others in that part of Europe. They are rough in manners, but trustworthy and honest to the last degree, and would make admirable colonists. The ancient government should have taken these people to settle the Sierra Morena, and other parts, instead of Germans, who were extinct in the next generation; they were in no respects better, and a less strong and muscular race than the natives, and less capable of resisting the climate. The roughness of the manners of the Galicians is proverbial, and a constant comparison in conversation. I have heard the term, *es agallegado*, he is somewhat Galician, applied to a coarse man in society.

The Estremeños, or people of Estremadura, are a decaying people, and can be studied with difficulty in their ruined cities and towns. They are highly polished, and probably

give as good specimens of individuals as any part of Spain. No industry of any kind exists in the country, which is fast proceeding to utter ruin.

According to the Castilians, all the virtues are concentrated in the plateau which forms their country, whence they are doled out in scanty portions to the various races we have enumerated, who surround their favoured region, and a Valencian, a Catalan or an Andaluz are selected in turns to "point their morals or adorn their tales." These claims of superiority are however by no means admitted by the others, and the grounds on which they found them are not at all clear. They assert that they are more frank and honest than many others, and possess more sterling qualities. Probably some of the best specimens of old Spanish character are, on the whole, to be found in old Castile, where the physiognomy is also different, and strongly resembles what may be the original or mixed Roman race, prior to the entry of the Visigoths and Moors, who have supplanted or mingled with almost all the others.

The strongest barriers to innovation are to be found in old Castile, where the "laudatores temporis acti," and those who believe that every change is a deterioration, are entrenched in their strongest holds. From the ruins of their decayed and crumbling towns, which are fast following the fate of the numbers which have perished, and been replaced by *despoblados*, they hailed the deliverer of the country, the hero of the Trocadero, to save the "santa religion," and give them back the monks, the only solace of their lives. In these old towns, which resemble the state of desolation of places mentioned in Scripture, where "the fox may shortly be expected to look out of the windows," may be seen ancient men, in the humblest attire, saluting each other "señor marquez," or by other titles, as in

Sicily. The manners in these old towns, are the perfection of human kind. Their polish, and natural ease and gentility cannot be surpassed. They are laconic, having a singular talent in saying "just enough," neither wasting words, nor leaving their speech short of its necessary expression. The strongest attachment to ancient usages, is found every where; and if precedents for ancient customs were required, in no part could they be more readily obtained; nor are any people in the world more bigotted to the usages of their ancestors.

In new Castile there is more wealth and agricultural industry than in the sister province. Substantial labradores may yet be found in La Mancha, giving the best idea of that description of society, which are the yeomanry of Spain, and one of the finest races in the world. They are frank, hospitable, punctilious, and honorable in their dealings. I visited Valdepeñas which is in that province, and one of the richest parts of the country, owing to the reputation justly enjoyed by the wines. I availed myself of the offer of a young Argentine, who was well acquainted in the place, and accompanied him to see the wine vaults of a principal house. We found the whole party were gone to the house of a connexion to celebrate a marriage, and we were immediately asked to join them. As it was the country of the rich Camacho, although the fleshpots which delighted Sancho were not to be expected, I gladly accepted the invitation, and repaired to the rendezvous. There was a large assembly of persons in the patio, and inside the house; where the young people were dancing *manchegos* in a room heated to suffocation. After remaining a short time, we repaired to the deep vaults and tasted their delicious beverage, by dipping a small instrument for the purpose into the tinaxas or huge earthen jars which contain it. On emerging, we found the mistress of the house,

who had left her party, the duties of hospitality with these people taking precedence of all other considerations, and she had provided sweetments and other things, which we were obliged, of course, to partake. She said on our remarking the inconvenience we put her to, that it was impossible to allow any one to enter her house, without paying them the respect due, in offering them what it possessed. These people, whose children were marrying, were hale and healthy, the air being extremely pure in that part, as in most others of Castile, and their establishment had all the appearance of substantial and solid comfort and respectability.

In the Sierra Morena is the most polished and noble mannered race of peasantry perhaps in the world. They belong rather to the Estremadura caste than the Andaluz, speaking a much purer Castilian than the semi Arab inhabitants of the latter province. Their physiognomy is also quite different, and about Guadalcanal, and that neighbourhood, they have strong marks of an aboriginal race, not resembling any other I saw in Spain.

In conversational powers and skill, as well as of relish for it, the Spaniards are excelled by no people. Madame de Stael said, "*Conversation, comme talent, n'existe qu'en France.*" She would not have used the expression, had she had the opportunity of studying the Spaniards, who possess the real talent in a much higher degree, than the descendants of the Gauls, or any other in Europe. As talent for salons, the French, no doubt, deserve the reputation they have; but as a general diffused gift, through all ranks, the Spaniards certainly excel any modern nation. The style of conversation is grave, but cheerful; very little attempt at display or exaggeration is seen, or talking above each other, which vitiates the French conversation of the day. It is rare to see any one attempt to lead, but the conversation

passes round the circle, each waiting patiently for his turn, in deep and respectful silence. The “οἱ δ’ ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ,” the deep impressive silence of the Greeks, is the habitual style in Spain, whilst any one is speaking. What is said is generally delivered straight and clearly, without drawling or precipitation, mindful always of the precept of Cervantes, “not to speak as if you were listening to your own voice.” Numberless individuals are possessed of the dry wit which characterises that inimitable author, especially in Castile. It is habitually found in good society, and there is the keenest relish for it. Ridicule is also possessed by many, in exactly the manner of Addison, whose powers Johnson pronounced to be singular and matchless. Dry and serious sallies of this kind constantly set the company in a roar, for no people have a more thorough taste for conversational talent. Ridicule is quite as much dreaded in this country as in France, but it is of a different kind, and nothing is proof against it when well managed. Vast facility is given to conversation by the habit of using expletives and diminutives, which are even more in use than among the Italians; also in coining words or using them for a temporary and occasional purpose, which is practised with inimitable grace by very many persons. In producing effect, care is taken not to overstep the mark, otherwise the name of *charlatan* is immediately fixed. There is an extraordinary talent for giving sobriquets, or nicknames, generally done in good humour, and seldom maliciously. In this the women are great adepts, seizing any peculiarity with great quickness and tact.

Some of the ablest and best men in Spain, or in any other country, are to be found amongst the provincial nobility, who are not compelled to live in the capital, and have property and influence in their local districts. In other

ways, the want of a real middle class is seen, in all its defects, in the structure of society.

The same independent spirit which has been observed to characterise the peasantry and inferior ranks of society, extends throughout. It is the independent moral character and principles of society which have saved Spain, and preserved the national character almost untouched, amidst corruption and mismanagement, which would have ruined most others. Where society is organised as it is in the large cities, it forms a powerful counterpoise to the bad management of the government. It is one of the greatest and most common errors, in judging of this singular country, to mix up powers which are quite unconnected with each other. The theories of Chinese or other oriental writers, who imagine, as many of them do, that England is governed and the society influenced by the India Company, are just as near the truth. Neither the government nor the agents have the slightest interest, or are seen any more than if they did not belong to it, excepting that they are always treated with due respect, and the forms of attention, in making visits at proper times, sedulously attended to. The ordinary rules are of course meant, and the late system of espionage on the French plan, which is new and exotic, and will not in all probability stand, is the exception. In many respects, the situation of society with respect to the government, resembled that of England in the time of Charles the Second, and more recently. This was the great error of Napoleon, and it is to this hour that of the French, who are as utterly ignorant of a people with whom they have had such extensive dealings, as they are of that of Japan. He believed that the Prince of Peace and his followers were the Spanish people. It must however be admitted, as is inevitable, that the influ-

ence of a system of government like that we have depicted, where every bad feeling and principle is fostered and encouraged, must have its effect in corrupting parts of the mass. In general, the vermin in the public offices, who do the dirty work of the government, are so different from the rest of society in appearance, that they look like a different caste, as the inferior ones in India, or elsewhere. I have often wondered where they had found some specimens which came under my observation; it was assuredly no easy matter; like the gigantic life-guardsmen, seen occasionally in the streets of London, who, at the other end of the scale, excite surprise to know how the recruiting sergeants find them out. The government of Calomarde, in all its ramifications, had preeminent tact in this, for they had most extraordinary specimens to exhibit in their subordinate agents. The Spaniards claim, like all other nations, the reputation of good nature. Certainly they do possess it, in a degree probably unrivalled, and it is the main instrument by which the government have worked. This quality, like others, is relative, and assuredly is claimed by many who have very little title to it. In Spain, it is in daily and hourly requisition, and the machine, as it now is, could not be carried on without a very large share of it in the constitution of the people.

In a country so singular as this is, where all extremes are seen in contact, where the highest civilization and the rudest state of society are seen together, other contradictions and paradoxes are also to be observed. The national character is eminently frank and open, yet if one vice be given as a prevailing one, it is deceit and duplicity, which prevail in an extraordinary degree. This is oriental beyond all doubt, and extends from the head of the state downwards. The last interview a disgraced minister has

with his chief, he is generally presented with a segar from the royal mouth, the greatest act of condescension and good humour, like the pulling by the ear of Napoleon; immediately after which, on arriving at his carriage, he finds an order of suspension or banishment to a distant city; a practice entirely eastern. In like manner another prevailing vice might be said to be corruption. So universal is it, that nothing can be effected, good or evil, without it, and it would appear to extend to every class of society. Yet the national character is exactly the reverse, and innumerable instances may be found by going out of the routine of tribunals and public offices, where the most noble proofs of disinterestedness are daily to be met with.

A curious modification of the homage rendered by vice to virtue is found in the manner of administering bribes. A certain delicacy and skill are necessary to ensure their success, and in general they must be tendered, as if the party were asking a favor of the other to accept them. In general, gifts are received without many thanks being returned, a peculiarity in a people so attentive to the forms of good breeding. The reason appears to be, the feeling that giving is to a certain degree a matter of course, and a duty, and that it equally blesses the giver as the receiver, a maxim also derived from the east.

Such are the manners of Spain, as after long acquaintance and some observation, they have appeared to me, candidly and impartially. They are assuredly not those of a vicious people, although vice and corruption may be found amongst them.

In fine, in the various situations produced by the extraordinary state of government and society, of which this imperfect outline is given, the bitterest animosities are

softened, and the greatest hardships and oppression alleviated, by a kindliness of feeling and of humanity, which rarely quit the people under any circumstances. In unaffected dignity, patient cheerfulness under misfortunes, and resignation to the evils of life, every nation may learn from them; and most would blush at the comparison, if they knew the manner distress is borne in this country.

CHAPTER XIV.

Relations of France and Spain.

BEFORE we proceed to describe the present situation of Spain, it is necessary to look at the relations of France with that country, which are amongst the most singular combinations of the present times. This will be done as succinctly as possible, and with the requisite candour and impartiality, only alluding to those circumstances which are matters of history, as it is necessary to point out those which have resulted from them. By the connexion with the reigning family with that of France, Spain has been dragged into every war, since the commencement of the last century. These wars have invariably turned out equally inglorious and unprofitable, and the fatal error of joining the cabinet of Versailles, in their alliance with the British colonies in North America, has finally ended in the separation of nearly all those of the western hemisphere from the mother country. The utter failure of the attempt against the republic in 1793, and the subsequent disastrous wars with Great Britain, into which Spain was forced, against her inclination and her interests, deceived Buonaparte, who believed the Prince of Peace and his followers to be the nation at large, and by a miscalculation, founded on the narrowness of mind, which governed mankind by their vices, and made little allowance for better feelings, adding insult, which went home to every Spanish bosom, to injury, he converted a people, of whom the slightest

care or management would have ensured the faithful friendships into the most deadly and implacable foes he was destined to encounter.

No such visitation as the war of independence has fallen upon any people in modern times. The disastrous consequences are apparent to the most casual observer, wherever he may turn his examination, but their deeper results are yet to be seen. Should any good result, it can only proceed by the stimulus given during that war, which excited spirits "yet dormant in the vasty deep," and by its establishing, on the greatest scale of demonstration, the fact of the government and the people coexisting, but being in reality quite independent of each other. The mixture of grandeur, of patriotism, of courage, and of every thing which can ennoble man, with the most opposite qualities, supplied by the pages of that extraordinary period, are the proof that a people is never lost, but by its own fault. The immediate consequence has been the forcing the country down the abyss, to which she was sliding, and as yet no solid or substantial good has been derived from it.

After the return of the King in 1814, and his advisers had persuaded him to exile, or imprison, or execute many of those to whom he owed his crown, the destruction of capital, and of the vital sources of prosperity, with the annihilation of commerce, and the virtual separation of the colonies, made it impossible to go on; and the attempt was made by recalling the Cortes, to reopen the lost paths of former prosperity. By this experiment, little or nothing was gained. The sound and really patriotic views of the more moderate part were overpowered by the more violent elements set in motion by a system of democracy, equally at variance with ancient habits, or the feelings of the people. In fact, the old abuses seemed to be increased, rather than diminished, during their ephemeral reign, and it appeared

the signal to call out the bad, quite as much as the good elements of the body politic. In a country organised as Spain is, enemies were soon found to a system of innovation loudly proclaiming the cessation of ancient abuses. This powerful party however could effect nothing without foreign cooperation. The occasion was too tempting for the restless and intriguing spirits at Paris. A system of secret assistance was immediately arranged. The details are needless, and it suffices to say that of all the treachery and intrigue which have been exhibited in these days, none are, or will be, more conspicuous than those which characterised the transactions, from the time of the formation of the *cordon sanitaire* of the Pyrenees, to the crossing of the Bidassoa in 1823. After the arts of dissimulation and falsehood were exhausted, and could no longer serve any purpose, a nation of thirty millions of men, the most warlike in Europe, were told that they must attack an inoffensive and friendly people, who had been ruined by adhering to them, in obedience to the will of other powers, for a purpose equally, or even more iniquitous, than the invasion of Napoleon, who at least pretended to have in view the remodelling the institutions, and setting them to the scale of modern times. The ministers of the Bourbons could assign no other, than to arrest the progress in advance of the deplorable state of the country, which was mainly derived from their connexion and alliance. The real movers of this enterprise scarcely showed themselves. These were the party of the congregation of the Jesuits, the fanatic sect, who undertook to preach the gospel in France, professing to reconvert it from a state of paganism and idolatry they affected to consider it had fallen into, since the revolution. On the other hand, mercantile advantages were foreseen, and a commercial supremacy anticipated. The pure politicians were divided. One party only op-

posed it, not on the score of injustice, but because they expected it would fail, and were not disposed to share in the disgrace. A large portion were neuter, and took no part, awaiting the result to declare their opinion.

The expedition, which was undertaken with all the means of modern science and military talent, united with vast and profuse expenditure of means succeeded, it cannot be denied, most completely. A comparatively small army overran, almost without opposition, a country which had defied all the power of Napoleon, directed by his consummate talents. The scene in France soon changed after the surrender of Cadiz. All opposition was silenced, and every party united in doing homage to the brilliant talent and courage, supposed to have accompanied the new army, who were declared to have eclipsed the deeds of the oldest veterans of past times. Great Britain was said to have fallen from a first rate to a much inferior rank in Europe, by the success of this direct attack upon her, and the revolution and restoration to be amalgamated, and to be one and indivisible, by the reconciliation of the people and the throne by means of the army. Rewards were lavished, with the utmost profusion, at home and abroad. The capture of the Trocadero was inscribed, in the division of the Pantheon which had been reserved for the exploits of the fourth or plebeian dynasty, at Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, and Wagram. The fame of a foreign prince was supposed to be consigned to posterity, by receiving the epaulettes of a grenadier of France, whilst by the imperial mover of the machinery, the hero who achieved this memorable victory, was placed in the same rank with the conquerors of Leipsig, of Salamanca, Vittoria, and Waterloo.*

* By receiving a Russian decoration, which obliges the bearer to have commanded an army in a general action, which this service was considered equivalent to.

to be subsequently grouped with those of Adrianople and Erzerum. This is a rapid sketch of this famous expedition, in which a young and gallant army, which ought to have earned its virgin honours in a better cause, was employed to perform the work of a set of monks, with a view to finally turning their arms against their own country. The glory of it may be divided between the monks, the merchants, who availed themselves of the opportunity to introduce a commercial monopoly for the time, and the liberal or movement party, whose object was, in whatever mode, to see the restoration of the political ascendancy to their country which she had lost by the events of the last campaigns.

The consequences to both countries were equally important. It threw Spain into the state these sketches attempt to delineate; in France it operated very differently; all parties sought to turn it to their respective advantage. On the one part it roused all the sleeping elements of the past order of things, from the lethargic slumber in which they had been reposing since the peace. It in fact unchained the press, and the true policy which would have dictated the tranquil governing of France, by principles of moderation and mildness, was replaced by *coups d'état*, and the fermentation caused, which has produced the catastrophe of July. There was always a powerful and numerous party against the Bourbons, as it was natural there should; and the manner in which the restoration was effected gave a title, which was sure, at one time, to be questioned, excepting with extremely good management, which ceased in the latter days of Louis the Eighteenth, and totally disappeared in the time of his successor. This hostile party, however, like the emancipationists in Ireland, and the reformers in England, would have toiled in vain but from the assistance given them by their adversaries. The institution of Bruns-

wick Clubs caused the passing of the emancipation bill; the defence of East Retford produced Reform; and the law of sacrilege, and the disbanding the national guards, overthrew the throne of Charles the Tenth. Thus it appears, as could be easily demonstrated more in detail, that this expedition was the primary cause of the misfortunes of the elder branch of the Bourbons, as the iniquitous war of 1808 was the political and military grave of Napoleon. The result did ample justice to the clear and discerning view taken of it by Lord Liverpool, and the British cabinet, who, I have understood, used every means to dissuade the government of France from engaging in a course so fraught with danger to the peace of Europe, and promising so little real advantage to any party. The same course was taken afterwards with less success. The expedition to Algiers was intended as a masking operation for the ordonnances, as that of Spain was for the erecting the banners of the congregation and reviving the system of the ancient monarchy. In one instance there was a partial success; but in the last, for I watched very narrowly the reasonings in the leading journals, it was a complete failure, as the military mania had given way to other and more rational feelings. Then issued the swarm of military romances which have coloured the noble exploits of the French army in the wars of the revolution, in the manner of the orientals. The other party, that of the Jesuits, worked in their calling with equal zeal, in the hope to bring back the times when monks governed the world. The result has been the precipitating from the throne, which was well nigh buried in the ruins, the unhappy family, to whose connexion, the greater portion of the misfortunes of Spain, in latter times, are to be traced, and the final and utter ruin of the Jesuitical party, who considered her as their province.

The result of the occupation turned out exactly opposite

to the calculations of the projectors, and approvers. It was soon found that the councils of France were powerless in Madrid. The party who had submitted to the infamy of calling in the aid of a foreign country, had no idea of being directed by them in their internal management. The capitulations and agreements made with the invading army, by such of the Spanish generals as stood by the cause they had embraced, were disregarded, and the same party who had put down the constitution in 1814, returned to power, with greater force and energy, and with a reckless determination to govern by their own will alone. The French ambassador had less influence in Madrid than the representative of a power which had changed her system, had broken off the connexion with the great military congress, and was openly acknowledging the revolted provinces of the Americas.

Some circumstances occurred, strongly similar to those which have too frequently marked the manners of the French in foreign countries, from the time of Charles of Anjou when they produced the Sicilian vespers, up to the present time when, in our day, they have caused the people in nearly every country they occupied, to rise against them. It is a certain mode of violent dictation which is more galling to the *amour propre* than the dull *morgue* of John Bull, which it not more amiable, but is more supportable, as it recoils on himself. What was tantamount to a personal slight was passed on the King himself, in his own palace, by a French general who was quartered in it, itself not a very delicate operation. It was a trifling circumstance, but as I have been informed, the question was raised by it, whether the will and convenience of the General, or the wish of the King of Spain, respecting the time of giving the parole and countersign, should be preferred. The former decided, that the military was paramount. This

would have been indelicate and ill-judged any where, but in Castile! and to the King of Spain and the Indies!! In his own palace!!! A complaint was, however, made, and he was, I understood, immediately removed; and I believe, no further complaint was made on that score. When they had evaded the evacuation to the last moment possible, an insurrection broke out in Catalonia, which there was great reason to believe was concerted with the same party in France, which had directed the invasion of the Peninsula. On the King repairing to the capital of the province, to quell this disturbance, he was actually refused admittance into his own city, by a foreign officer, holding it only, as they said, for his protection, but on conditions as if he were entering a fortress of France. The place is, as before described, completely commanded by two citadels, both of which the French held, and were not I believe asked or expected to give up. The general commanding, absolutely, as I have been informed, stipulated, that the King of Spain should only enter his own fortress, with a subaltern's guard, and that no greater force should be admitted. This was quite out of the question, and he actually, by the advice of his officers, withdrew to Tarragona, leaving the capital in possession of his protectors, who were soon afterwards, by those circumstances, and the energetic remonstrances and high tone of Mr. Canning, compelled to withdraw. What the real intentions of the cabinet of the Tuileries were, is unknown, but it is beyond all doubt they were very different from this termination. Reports were made of the expence of repairing and adding to the works of Cadiz, with a view to long possession. It is more than probable the secret view was, the indemnification of expences the Spanish government could not reimburse, by the cession of some colonial possession. The change in the British cabinet ended these visions, and the impossibility of either retreating with credit, or of extricat-

ing themselves from a dilemma, the consequence of rashly engaging in an unjustifiable and impolitic enterprise, caused the expressions of the celebrated speech of the most eloquent man of those days, who described the situation of the French cabinet, as one of "unpalliated and unmitigated evil." The results were their immediate retreat without advantage to any one but the party who lately governed Spain, with the final overthrow of the dynasty of the Bourbons and of the congregation who were the principal instigators and movers of this invasion, and the dispersion, never again to meet, of the holy alliance. The commercial advantages resulting from this expedition have not been greater than the others. In fact, they annihilated the sources of commerce, besides the mass of misery and distress, in other respects, inflicted by the invasion. One curious arrangement was made. In order to complete the "protective system," they enacted a navigation law in Spain, going even beyond the old adage of the stable, for the horse was not only gone, but the stable itself destroyed. The French made it a stipulation of the treaty, that they should be put on the footing of the natives, as to the *cabotage*, or coasting trade, which was actually like pilfering the rags of a beggar. In fine, the expedition was a complete failure. France was involved in financial difficulty by it, from which she has never recovered. The hopes of political and military domination and commercial supremacy, have entirely failed in answering the expectations from them; and a memorable lesson has been given to the world, of the impolicy of such attempts. The political influence of England at Madrid, has never been at all powerful, excepting in the time of Mr. Canning. The same reasoning exactly applied to that, as to many other subjects connected with this country. Like the governments of the north of Africa, they did not really respect any one

whom they did not fear. During most of the time these observations were made, our influence was at zero. The reason of this was, that the administration our minister represented, was united with that of Spain in general principles, and they had nothing to fear. Latterly, after the revolution of July, the French had considerable power from the dread they were in of that country. Of course this does not prevent the exchange of courtesy and civility, which they lavish on every one. I doubt very much whether, excepting from the motive of fear of consequences, or the absolute necessity of support, which bound them to the holy alliance; any foreign government has influence in this singular country. None of the diplomacy, when I was in Spain, and had ample means of hearing, were ever spoken of by any party, as exercising power. The mode of living, the habits of Madrid, which are entirely diplomatic, and enable any intrigue to be detected in a moment, by people whose whole time is spent in it, and excel, in talent for it, all the nations of Europe, not excepting the Russians: the total want of real argument from those who have neither interest, nor commerce, nor character, nor any one thing in common with them, which is the case with the great military powers; must neutralize their efforts to direct such a government as that we have delineated.

Some of the views of the last invasion may be gathered from what took place in the fortresses; they demolished the fort of Pancorbo, the only defence on the direct route from Bayonne to Madrid. They emptied every arsenal of its brass cannon, leaving not a sufficiency for the ordinary defence of the place. Some of these guns were taken, as it was said, to defray the expence of the sieges. Others were claimed as their own property, having been left in the war of independence, and having, in fact, as they said, never ceased to be French. When a

protest was made at Cadiz against the illegal and unjust seizure of a large quantity, an order was procured from the King, making them a present to his brother of France. The iron guns and shot were required as ballast for the transports. They employed a set of military officers, some of whom were still in Spain when I left it; to make regular surveys of the whole country as far as Madrid, including the communications with Valencia by Cuenca, and the Sierra of that name. Two years were devoted to making a detailed plan of Jaca, a small frontier place in Aragon, with every thing necessary to besiege it. The officers employed on these services were forwarded at the public expence by requisition, and were rewarded by Spanish orders and decorations, whilst native officers, infinitely better qualified to do it, were unemployed, or languishing in exile, and a decent map of any part, even of the country round the gates of the capital cannot be found.*

The influence of the French at Madrid was so small, that I think it was only in 1830 they succeeded in obtaining the commencement of the repayment of the money expended in the expedition. It is very much to be regretted that money, literally wrung from the ruined proprietors of Spain, should continue to be claimed by France, for a service they ought to feel anything but exultation at having performed. The reasoning of a free people on receiving tribute from such a source, resembles that of the Roman Emperor, that the money is good, from

* It may be necessary to observe, that the splendid maps of the country as far as Madrid, including the Pyrenees and Catalonia, published by the war department at Paris, are not at all to be depended on for accuracy; many parts being merely founded on old surveys, and the engraving being the best part of them. The materials collected by the officers in question are at Paris, but duplicates were, I understood, lodged at Madrid.

whatever source it be derived, and they certainly ought to renounce this tax from a friendly people, on whom their alliance and system directly or indirectly, have entailed so many misfortunes.

The government which succeeded this invasion was, to use the expression, the incarnation of absolute power. The royal name was a mere *nom de guerre*, and the authority of the King little more than nominal. Another principle in reality governed: the condensed, concentrated essence of the maintenance of corporate and organised power, the head being the church, and the sole object, the support of ancient abuse against change, or innovation, or improvement. Every act of the short time of the Cortes, good or bad, was reversed. The time itself was voted a "dies non" in the history of the monarchy, and I believe every document relating to it ordered to be destroyed, in the vain and useless hope of effecting the oblivion of its existence. Calomarde, the chief who directed the machine, was a man without real talent or elevation of mind, but he possessed the power of steering amid the intrigues of parties at Madrid to a consummate degree; had great firmness, a considerable degree of moderation, and that inflexible and inexorable mind necessary to manage the power he wielded. As his power rested on foreign influence and assistance, and depended on the banishment or exclusion from office of nearly every man of talent in the country; and as he existed only by sufferance, every independent and intelligent man looking on such a ministry as a national opprobrium and disgrace; his task was sufficiently difficult. He was surrounded, and at every audience of his sovereign, was obliged to see people in crowds, whom he knew to be hostile to his government, and indignant at his holding it. The plan, mentioned elsewhere, was resorted to; the favourite system in Spain. The two parties

were run against each other. The national guards which included all the constitutional party, *Grandees* of Spain being enrolled in them, were disbanded; and the rabble, called the *realistas*, armed in their place. Between these powers, between those desirous of change and reformation, and those who were urging him to vengeance, crying to be let loose on their opponents, and considered the system of government as lukewarm and disloyal, he steered his course in comparative security. He stood in fact at Madrid, like an enchanter amongst his familiar spirits, who were barely under his controul, and at every instant were ready to rebel, and annihilate or devour him.

In this state things were at the revolution of July. The domination of that party was then struck at the root. The mortal blow was given. Like the bull in the plaza, who has received the *estocada*, a show of vigour remained, and some antagonists might yet be struck down, but their inevitable doom was sealed, and in patience, the calm and reflecting people of Spain looked forward to the certain fall of this detested administration. Of the two hostile parties, no doubt the great danger was from the apostolical or ultra party. They were armed and powerfully supported near the throne. The risk was their violence causing reaction and civil war, and the cooperation of the French. Accordingly every man in office, who was not of consummate prudence, was removed. The difficulty was to chuse between violence and imbecility, the two endemics of the party. Ever and anon the hive at Madrid became too hot, and a partial swarming, or expulsion of the more stirring part of the intriguers, was necessary, who were banished to the provinces, and the equilibrium restored.

Amongst the peculiarities in Spain, is the transmission of news, which is carried with a rapidity quite extraordinary. Although no foreign paper was permitted, and the

Gazette contained nothing of importance, until some time after it had happened ; in no country in Europe were the heads of information sooner to be obtained. I happened to visit the Puerto de Benasque, in the high Pyrenees, a very few days after the insurrection of Paris. Whilst I was there, a man arrived from Zaragoza. I enquired whether he had heard any news from Paris. He said yes, they had known every thing which had happened some days ago. I was subsequently informed of the revolt at Brussels, whilst in a remote southern town, a great distance from the capital, ten days after it had happened. The Gazette, which was drawn up with so much care that it was frequently reprinted more than once before it was issued, and which the monkish directors of it believed led public opinion ; had so little credit, that not only its assertions were disregarded, but were often read for the purpose of being disbelieved, and taken in the opposite sense, or turned into ridicule, whilst all deficiencies or omissions were interpreted in the same manner.* For a very short time, the publication of the transactions at Paris was withheld, when yielding to dire necessity, they determined to give regular abstracts of the events there. The system of writing was curious, and sufficiently showed the real footing of the government, and the feeling in Spain. No defence was ever made, or attempted, of the ordinances, and the public were spared the reading the miserable twaddle of some of our papers on these subjects, which made these unfortunate occurrences worse than they otherwise were, by endeavouring to support what was indefensible.

Immediately after the revolution of July was completed,

* I have very often witnessed the amusing sight of the analysis of the Gazeta, when any news of importance was expected. It frequently happened to them, as to others, that even when speaking the truth they were not believed.

the party, into whose hands the government had fallen, sent, in their official or ministerial situation, a demand of recognition of the new order of things, whilst, in their capacity of merchants and loan jobbers, they collected all the hands of banished Spaniards who could be prevailed on to join them, and sent them at their own expence to the frontiers, for the avowed purpose of overturning the very government whose friendship they were professing to court. The failure of their attempts to invade Spain is well known. Very fortunately it happened so, for torrents of blood would have flowed to no purpose, had they momentarily succeeded. They certainly had no want of well wishers in all parts, but the Spaniards had rather too much experience and sagacity to compromise themselves generally in so doubtful a cause, where the parties were in some respects nearly equal, but where the material and power were all on one side, and in the hands of those whose inexorable and relentless determination where their existence depended on it, were so well known. Those attempts could not be expected to produce any other results than as it happened. A few hundred adventurers could not be expected to move an edifice like the monarchy of Spain, whose passive *vis inertiae* alone was proof against these puny attempts. One remarkable fact occurred, which was before alluded to.

I was in Spain at this eventful period, and had full means of knowing every thing which passed. It cannot be denied that the Spanish government during this crisis was conducted with a firmness suited to the head of a great monarchy, although very far from admiring the principle on which they ruled. The most strict orders were given to all officers, especially the police, to be watchful at their posts, but the ordinary course of the laws was not interrupted. A most severe and sanguinary decree was issued against those who should disturb the public tranquillity, or

threaten the subversion of the order of things existing. The dreadful threat was held out to the liberal party, that the government kept the balance between the two factions, and that they had only to unloose the hands of their opponents, to annihilate them. This was so far true, that the one party was disarmed and the other in arms in most places, and quite ready to fall on; being composed of just the description of persons who would have obeyed such a mandate. Desirous as the people were of a change, their good sense prevented many of them engaging in so desperate a cause and the decree remained nearly inoperative. An exception occurred at Granada, where the horrible spectacle was exhibited of a young and beautiful woman, the widow of a brigadier, perishing on the scaffold, for only the alleged crime of having tricoloured flags in her possession. The sentence against this person was sent to Madrid and thence ordered after mature examination, to be carried into immediate effect. What passed in the council on this occasion cannot be known; but it may have been urged, that in the eye of the law all were equal, and that there was no distinction of sex; that it was too well known that in many parts of the country the women were avowed liberals and in hostility to the existing order of things; that every means had been tried in vain to reclaim them, that seclusion in convents and holy vigils and exhortations had produced so little effect, that they came out if possible more perverse than they entered; and that the salutary discipline which in other cases effected so much good was in this unavailing, as they even seemed to glory in their shame. That reports had reached from some provinces of their examining the political sentiments of the men; who had little chance of smiles or favours unless they were of the mode of thinking so much deprecated by the faithful friends and supporters of the monarchy. That instances constantly occurred of men

renouncing their errors, and returning to the right path, but that no example was known of the conversion of a woman.

It might have been remarked, in answer to this general charge against the sex, that if in some parts the liberals were more numerous, that in Castile, those of the opposite mode of thinking were not deficient, and that in zeal for the cause they espoused, they fully equalled their rivals.

However that may have been, the dreadful order was carried into execution. The unfortunate victim met her fate with the heroic courage which at all times has distinguished the Spanish fair. Neither threats, entreaties, or promises could induce her to inculcate a single person. The same firmness was shown by her female attendant, who was sentenced to imprisonment for two years as accessory. The only favour she asked was, to be allowed to die in her own apparel, and to be excused wearing the robe appropriated to criminals. This was denied, but they shortened the period of this part of the ceremony. This spectacle, the most horrid which had been witnessed at Granada since the burning of the Moriscos in the early part of last century, was seen by very few persons, excepting the description who are always attendants on such occasions. Horror at a display equally barbarous as impolitic and unnecessary, overpowered the feelings of curiosity in both enemies and friends of the government, and the upper classes of society left the town or remained in their houses all day, during this political auto-da-fé.

The tragedy at Malaga, a few months afterwards, is described under the head of Military, to which it belongs. A few other examples occurred of the inexorable manner in which the decrees were carried into execution. Two men were surprised at Madrid in the act of writing a letter to Mina; one of them, an officer of engineers, a man of great talent, heard the noise of the police entering, and calling

to his companion to follow him, leapt out of a window. When he reached the ground, an officer happened to be passing who drew his sword, and offered to detain him; the other, with admirable presence of mind, said: "I have been surprised in a love affair, let me pass, for they are following me." This was instantly granted, and he made his escape out of the country. The other was found secreted under a bed. The letter was on the table, neither having thought of destroying it. The difficulty was to prove the writing, which they at last procured witnesses to swear to, and he was executed. Some few other instances occurred, but all the effect they had, was to disgust the public; not a man or woman was converted by them in any part of the kingdom.

RECENT CHANGES.

THE rebellion which has broken out subsequently is too well known to require much detail or description. There are circumstances connected with it, sufficiently curious. The first is, that the free provinces should be the only real supporters of it. The reason of this, is the influence of the clergy, who are entirely mixed with the people in that part of Spain, and in fact are established in almost every house, where they are part and parcel of the society, and their yoke in no way onerous or oppressive. This will be seen on referring to the description of these provinces and Navarre. In that of Bilbao, the Franciscan convent is mentioned. These monks headed the whole insurrection, and their influence over the lower orders as there stated, enabled them to give the start, which was so quickly followed by the rest of the peasantry. The strength of the country, the fact of the arms being in possession of the

Carlist party under the denomination of realistas, and that the others were nearly unarmed; the government having no troops in the country, from prescriptive custom, and the slow and dilatory movements of the army sent against them, are quite sufficient to account for the rapid progress and the formidable appearance of the revolt at one time. The other reason is the constant fear or jealousy of the government of Castile about the fueros, which keep the whole population of the provinces on the *qui vive* and ready to turn out in a moment, at any time, whilst the existence of that feeling makes them independent and fearless of the general government. There can be no doubt to any one acquainted with those provinces, although I have seen no one, or heard directly from them, that the priests have worked on the people by the fear of the suspension of the fueros, and the imprudent manifesto of General Castagnon must have rather increased this feeling. The general result of the insurrection is exactly what every one would anticipate who thoroughly knows Spain, and the organisation of parties. With the exception of these provinces, no real stand has been made any where in support of a cause many people believe is the popular one in Spain. The reasons are these. The insurrection in favour of Carlos was a complete rebellion, and of really high treason in the state of the law. The moral weight of Spain was transferred to the Infanta, by the celebrated act of last June. The party who support the Queen are not a mere faction, but it comprises every man of talent or information, almost without an exception, in Spain. Nearly all the nobility. All the military men of rank and station, and nearly all the others. Every man and woman in the country who is *at par*, and all above it. In fact almost every one who can read or write, no inconsiderable number even of the clergy and amongst the constituted bodies. In short, all the *mind* of

Spain is arrayed in favor of the present government, not because it was the *will* or *interest* of the late King to change the succession, but because it is the real law of the country, and that it is a question of good or bad government. The solemn act by which they swore to support the Princess, is sufficient to insure the stability of attachment of people, who are not given to turn round and forswear at every instant, as in some countries.

So widely spread is the feeling in favour of the change of system, that of a most extended acquaintance I had through the country, in every station of life, from the highest downwards, of every profession and calling, I should be puzzled now to point out a single male or female who was a Carlist. The opinions of the situation of the monks, who in France especially, are considered to direct the people and change the government at will, are utterly erroneous. It will be seen in the chapter on the Clergy, what their influence is. Their position is inversely as it is in France. The war of independence was not a war of monks or fanaticism, although monks and fanatics assisted in it. It was a war of national honor, in which the monks seconded the people; their interests and feelings being one and inseparable. By their own folly and the mistaken policy of those who have governed Spain since the invasion of 1823, their influence is gone. The talisman is lost; they may cry "Wolf," no one now will second them. So far is this the case that I am confident whenever the government resolve to suppress the convents, by taking proper precautions, it will be effected without trouble, and that they will fall without a struggle. The surrender of the constitution in 1820 is no argument. Things were then very different. The acts of the Cortes had disgusted almost every one but the low democratic party, and the organisa-

tion against them was too strong in the country, to admit of resistance to an army of 100,000 men, who were thrown into the balance. The capitulations and expectations of better times and of a moderate system of government, neutralised the exertions of very many. The administration of Calomarde completely dissipated these illusions, and it would be very difficult now to organise the same system. The manner in which that government was managed ; its support depending on the exclusion of every man of talent, excepting one or two who were employed from the fears of the consequences of the acts of their own followers, are sufficient proof that even with the Carlist government of France to support them, they could scarcely hold their ground. How can it be supposed, now that the incubus is removed, they will be desirous of again replacing it ? The situation and prospects of Spain are certainly better than they have been at any period in modern times. The cessation of the selfish and unnatural contest in Portugal in favour of the rightful and legitimate heir, with the amelioration of government in that country, and the removal of Don Carlos ; the support and alliance of France and England, with the accession to power of the party who alone can regenerate the country, are events which, a very short time since, would scarcely have been anticipated. At the time I left Spain, in August 1832, the feeling through society was universal that the government of the day must fall ; but little idea was held that relief was so near at hand, and through such extraordinary and providential means. The history of these latter times would seem to verify the remark of the monk Flores, the historian, that disorder in the chief of the state frequently extends through all the members of it, as those of the head of man through all his frame. In this instance it is true, but in-

versely: for good, and not for evil. An event of itself of little importance, the succession of a child, is a question of regeneration, or retention of slavery and degradation to a magnificent country.

The changes which are known to have taken place in the administration of the government, are the act respecting *maestrazgos*, or entails, which was commenced by the Cortes, and is imperiously called for; the division of the kingdom into departments, in the manner of France, which promises to be of great advantage; and, finally, a reformation, amounting to emancipation of the press, and the subjecting it to a regular and rational law. As a proof how little the late system was suited to the state of the people, I have seen an account, that instead of the miserable Gazette, the only one permitted for all Spain, there are now nearly twenty in Madrid alone. The police is ordered to be reorganised, and it is to be hoped that a system any thing but Spanish will be abolished, excepting as far as prudence makes it necessary in the present state of political party until the disturbances cease. Nothing has yet been done respecting the finances, the most difficult of all the subjects to arrange. Most patriotic offers are admitted to have been made by the great jobbers before mentioned, who offer their fortunes as gifts, in the manner known on the north borders, where offers of *giving* have been understood to mean five per cent interest, on the sums thus liberally bestowed. The money thus generously tendered to relieve the necessities of the Spanish finances, should have been in the treasury, from which it has been wrested by the operations before mentioned. The motto of the new government should be "*Timeo Catalanos et dona ferentes.*" They must at whatever cost get rid of Riera and all his establishment, and put the general commerce on a better footing, if the intention be really to regenerate Spain. The

tobacco system is ordered to be examined, and no doubt many salutary measures will shortly follow.

It will be observed by those who have attended to Spanish affairs the immense power exercised by the Captains general for the last few months. It could not be otherwise, and it must continue to be so. The principle is highly objectionable, no doubt, but it is a part of the inheritances of former misrule, which by acting against the feelings of the wiser and more enlightened part of the people has subverted the ordinary law, and converted the management of government into a mere *brutum fulmen*.

A strange event has taken place in the late transactions. In the former part of these sketches the priestly power which directed the government is pointed out. This power prescribed the dreadful and most illegal processes, under which Torrijos was shot and the other executions took place. The monkish power which presided in these ordonnances was proved, if any doubt existed on the subject, by the particular instructions given, that in every instance of execution the means of confession were to be provided. Like the bull of Phalaris, the lot has fallen on the inventors of this system, which is quite contrary to the law of Spain. For the first time the priests and monks who have caused so many executions, have felt the dreadful power of the law themselves. At the head of many others who have paid the penalty of their own law, is a canon or prebendary of Burgos, who was taken in arms. The provinces of Spain during these transactions have borne out the estimate given of them. In Andalusia no move whatever has been made, nor on any of the parts where commerce and industry are most general. The Catalans have nobly redeemed the disgrace of the war of the *agraviados*, or the monkish insurrection of 1828. In the interior they could effect nothing. The priests had completely defeated

their own purpose in old Castile. The spectres which the cities and towns represent, could furnish no force capable of doing any thing, and the command devolving on General Quesada, the former Captain general of Andalusia, no chance was left to them. As these personages are historical, the Captain general of Catalonia, who has played so distinguished a part, was the Viceroy of Navarre, mentioned in the account of Pamplona.

An idea has gone forth that Don Carlos was more popular than the late King during his life time. Having had certainly better opportunities of knowing than the writer of that opinion, I have no hesitation in saying that I am convinced he was mistaken. I believe that he had taken one Infante for the other. Don Carlos seldom walked or mixed with the public. However, admitting it to be so, the Carlist party were assembled and concentrated at Madrid, and it would prove nothing as to his popularity through the country. I can safely say, that to the better part of society throughout Spain he was an object of any thing but popular feeling; not personally, because I believe he was a respectable man, but from the system of government with which he was connected. At present he is a mere man of straw. It is the *principle* he represents, that by which the late government was conducted, which gives him his value. As to the mere popular respect shown, this notice of it was only founded on the hasty and superficial view inseparable from travelling quickly through a country, which causes many more serious errors. In a nation of gentlemen, as the Spaniards are, where the respect due to every one is paid with an attention unknown in any other, it would be rather extraordinary if the first prince of the blood did not receive his due proportion. The late King was, if any one of the family could be said to be, more respected personally, than any of them. His reign

was certainly a calamitous one, and many acts authorised by him, will reflect very little honour on his memory hereafter; but I never heard but one opinion, that as an individual he was naturally a good man. He was certainly very amiable in his converse with those who had to do with him. His conversation was not always in the best style, as his forte was understood to be *slang*, of the style of bull fighters and others, but in that taste, he is not singular in his rank, and his hits sometimes were acknowledged to be excellent. His greatest fault was versatility and unsteadiness to his principles or plans, a fatal error in an absolute monarch, in the critical circumstances he was so often placed. He was generally understood to be any thing but bigotted in religion. How it happened that he died a heretic, I am ignorant, but there is strong reason to believe that the charge of it, has proceeded from the intricate connexion of spirituals and temporalities on the part of the priests, whom his last acts rather injured in perspective.

On the death of Ferdinand, the arrangements he had made to secure the inheritance to his daughter were sound and excellent. One curious circumstance there took place so like many others which occur in this country. It was found that a leading member of the regency, was a nobleman certainly the best qualified in every way for this difficult task, who was almost under proscription by the government of Calomarde, by whom he was nominated.

The important act of succession, was altered in 1830, immediately on the declaration of the pregnancy of the Queen, the fourth wife of the last King of Spain. It is unnecessary to go into detail on this subject; but as considerable misapprehensions are abroad respecting it, a few observations are necessary to place it in a clear light. The Salic law, or custom, as is well known, is French, and not Spanish, having been imported there by the Bourbons, after the war

of succession, which established the family compact. The attachment of the French to this law is like many other circumstances in history, proving the disposition of nations as well as individuals, to cling to names rather than things. If any lecturer on history had to demonstrate the utter folly of such a law amongst civilized nations, he must, to give effect to his discourse, select France as the most striking example, and he could very soon prove, both the inutility and the prejudice from it, by the tendency of women to govern indirectly and even prejudicially, where they are excluded from a due share of power. In Spain or in England no such prejudice exists. We will not deny the right of the Bourbons to carry their law with them, but we strongly must, the considering such importation of foreign law as binding for ever on the Spanish nation, to whom it does not belong. It is quite clear that the same power which brought it in, was capable of revoking it, and steps were already taken before the revolution for the purpose by Charles the Fourth, when circumstances and the health of the late King made it no longer necessary. If any doubt on the subject remains, we can solve it in England. The House of Hanover did not bring their law or custom with them, but adopted that of their new country, as the Bourbons, strictly speaking, ought to have done. Had it happened otherwise, had an alteration been made in the English law to suit the prejudices of the new dynasty, would any one contend that such innovation was to bind us for ever? The very principle on which it was introduced, that of making the will of the chief of the government, the law of the monarchy, equally applies to the removal of it; and the sanction of the Cortes makes it doubly, as it now is, the real law of Spain.

This Salic law, then, can only be considered as a temporary innovation. To the men of Burgos or those of Toledo,

whose traditions are carried back to past ages and the early history of the monarchy, the three or four generations which have elapsed since its introduction are as nought, and it may be compared to the *hojarascas* and frippery of modern gilding and decoration in the cathedrals, in proportion to the stately edifices themselves ; requiring about the same degree of veneration as those unseemly interpolations. During the time I was in Spain, when I heard every sort of discussion and opinion, no one was ever started as to the power of making this alteration. Most fortunately, every thing which has taken place since was foreseen by the serious and reflecting part of the leading men in Spain, whose situation secured them access to the King, although they were barely tolerated by his government. It was most wisely and happily determined to convene the Cortes of the kingdom, in order to give this royal decree the force of law. This was done last June, whilst all the parties were in health, with the utmost solemnity, and in the style of ancient times, the customs of 1300 being carefully resumed.* This act, the most solemn which has taken place for a long period, was scarcely concluded, when the King was taken ill, and received the extreme unction, being in fact believed and reported to be dead. Then ensued a scene, such as the Greek tragedians would have selected for the stage, or as Shakspeare would have gone to Bohemia, or some barbarous and almost unknown country, to dig out, to convert into a drama. The minister who, if he did not actually counsel these things, which it is most probable he did, at least swore to stand by them, and was responsible to God and his country for every thing which might result from a course of treachery and falsehood, unparalleled in modern history. This man,

* A curious dispute of precedency between the deputies of Burgos and Toledo, which dates, I believe, from that time.

taking advantage of the incapacity, and in fact *death*, as it was mentally, of the King, procured his signature to an act, revoking the deed by which the succession was secured to his daughter. This proceeding speaks for itself. It could not be supposed in human nature, that Ferdinand would commit such an act with the possession of his mental faculties, depriving his own children of their succession, and entailing civil war on the country. In the next place, his doing so was illegal. He could not revoke a law by his own deed, which had been just solemnly passed by the Cortes, had he even wished to do it; and if this miserable conspiracy had succeeded, the Captains general and all other authorities were justified in considering Don Carlos as an usurper and a rebel. Providence, however, directed it otherwise; one of those circumstances, which change the fate of nations, occurred on this occasion. The King recovered, and was of course soon informed of the act he had committed. The result was clear. The traitor avoided the fate he so well deserved, by escaping from the country, of whose history his domination will for ever remain the opprobrium. The immediate change which took place was a prodigious relief to Spain. The worst and most offensive parts of the system were changed. The Captains general were in general removed, and men of the first talents of the moderate party appointed in their places, and an immediate reform of most of the more flagrant abuses commenced.

The important question respecting the balance of Europe, which is materially affected by the present situation of Spain, requires a few additional observations. After the revolution of July, the Paris journals of the *mouvement* and revolutionary propaganda held these words: "Avec 30,000 troupes l'Espagne est à nous." *They were perfectly right.* A less force by one third would have sent Calomarde and

all his party, clerical and laical, to Cadiz. In fact they would have met with no opposition, excepting from the peasants of Navarre; the first battle would have ended the struggle, especially if the minister of war had commanded the army. So utterly ignorant were the people employed at Madrid, that the opinion of a person in office was circulated and ridiculed through Spain, who held that a Spanish army might replace Charles the Tenth on the throne! So entirely disgusted were the people in general with the government, that although possessing patriotism equal or superior to that of most countries, I am quite sure that they would have looked on "*siccis oculis*," and let the monks deliver the country as they could, from the disgrace they had brought upon it.

Leaving all sentiment and attachment to the country out of the question, and putting it merely as a question of *business* and of political interest to Great Britain and other powers who are desirous of maintaining the peace and tranquillity of Europe, it is evident, that as far as this country is concerned there is only one way of effecting it; that is, of leaving the Spaniards to establish the government they chuse, themselves. As to going back to the old order of things, it is impossible. It is like reenacting the penal laws in Ireland; or conjuring up the ghosts of the Stuarts to govern England. The thing is now out of the question. Zea has failed, by attempting to hold a balance, which must now lean to the opposite side. If Don Carlos succeeded, he could only govern by the garrote and military law, as Calomarde did; and on the first movement in France, a small army would suffice to shake his throne to pieces. There is no more abstract attachment to dynasty or to sovereign in Spain than elsewhere. There is a strong feeling of love of order and tranquillity, and the enlightened part of the people expect, and in all probability will have, free institutions,

as in the times of their ancestors. The present government have only to complete the armament of the national guards, and they will be safe from every thing internally. I have not the smallest doubt, that, with prudence and firmness, even the church will come over to the feeling so universal in society, that a reform in the government must take place.

The greatest danger to the present order of things, is undoubtedly to be apprehended from the desperate efforts of some parties very near the throne, who, if general opinion be correct, are capable of forwarding or abetting any scheme which would alter the succession. There is a recent instance of this spirit, in a woman cursing her own offspring or something very like it, because his views on these subjects differed from her own, and in the name of religion! In this instance, as in others, in countries besides Spain, religion would seem to be merely the cloke for ambition and vindictive feelings, and tends to harden the mind, under the influence of these impressions, rather than soften it, as its true effect ought to be. It acts as the vinous fermentation, which, if not stopped in time, converts the liquid to vinegar. This appears to be the foundation of the system of inquisitors and others, who have made a religion of peace and good will, an instrument of vengeance and persecution.

The question of Portugal is so entirely mixed up with that of Spain, and by the curious coincidences so exactly parallel to each other, the prospects of both countries as to good or bad government depending on the success or non success of two selfish usurpers, that it must be introduced, in order to have a general idea of the state of the Peninsula. An elaborate article has lately been put forth in a leading periodical journal, which appears to be a paraphrase of an official manifesto of Don Miguel, published just as Don Pedro was expected to land in Portugal. I was

in Spain at that time, and was present when it was discussed in a circle of Spaniards very well qualified to judge of it. It was immediately and unanimously pronounced to be the work of some *escribano* or *avogado*, accustomed to *points* and to lead away the attention of his auditory from the real *ad hominem* bearing of the question; and the opinion was, that Don Pedro would finally succeed, not because he carried a constitution, but because he had the better title of the two, and that with him was the real heir of the monarchy.

The article alluded to is, in fact, a mere gingle of words without meaning. The question is argued as if it concerned the *two brothers only*. If any one will take the trouble of looking into the *Revolutions de Portugal*, of Vertot, they will see an abstract of the law of succession in that country, as it was fixed at the commencement of last century. Brazil was not a *foreign country* when the transactions which have led to these discussions commenced, but was as much a part of the monarchy as Lisbon or Oporto. Don Pedro had undoubtedly a right, at any time, either to abdicate the throne himself, or, by accepting that of a foreign country, to vacate it, as imperatively required by the law; but either of these acts are *personal*, and do not or cannot be construed to invalidate the title of his daughter, or heir, to whom, in such cases, the crown is secured; and of which there exist no legal means of depriving her, even supposing it to be admitted that Brazil is *now* a separate and independent country.

Supposing that in the war with Napoleon, the royal family of England had been obliged to emigrate to Canada or Jamaica, and had chosen to remain there for some time after the necessity for doing so had ceased; and that the late King, for instance, had preferred residing there, to returning to Europe, and that in course of time, the colony

had declared itself independent ; would these circumstances have destroyed the claim of his daughter, if she was living, to the succession of her ancestors in England ? Even supposing, for the sake of argument, one of the royal Dukes had taken advantage of the time, and obtained possession of the government, causing or procuring himself to be called King ? This is, as nearly as possible, similar to the case in question.

The possession of the government for five years, every office being filled with his adherents ; the support of the clergy who are more powerful in Portugal than in Spain, because the peasantry are further behind in civilization ; the holding all the resources of the country, with a well formed and disciplined army ; and the known and avowed support of a powerful party in England, to which country all parties look as their natural ally and protectress, are quite sufficient to account for the stand Don Miguel has made, and are circumstances quite independent of, and no way connected with, his right to the crown. An imprudent act of the French government, beyond all doubt, strengthened his cause, quite unintentionally. The attack on Lisbon, by which the forces of a powerful country were employed to avenge the punishment of an outrage, which would have subjected a Portuguese in France to severe and exemplary punishment. Apparently this expedition was like that of Ancona, being concerted in the hope the populace would rise and revolutionize the government. In both instances they were failures and strengthened the hands of those whom they were intended to weaken. In that of Lisbon it was “ reasons on compulsion.” No people could be expected to brook the insulting their altars, although *force majeure* might be employed to compel submission.

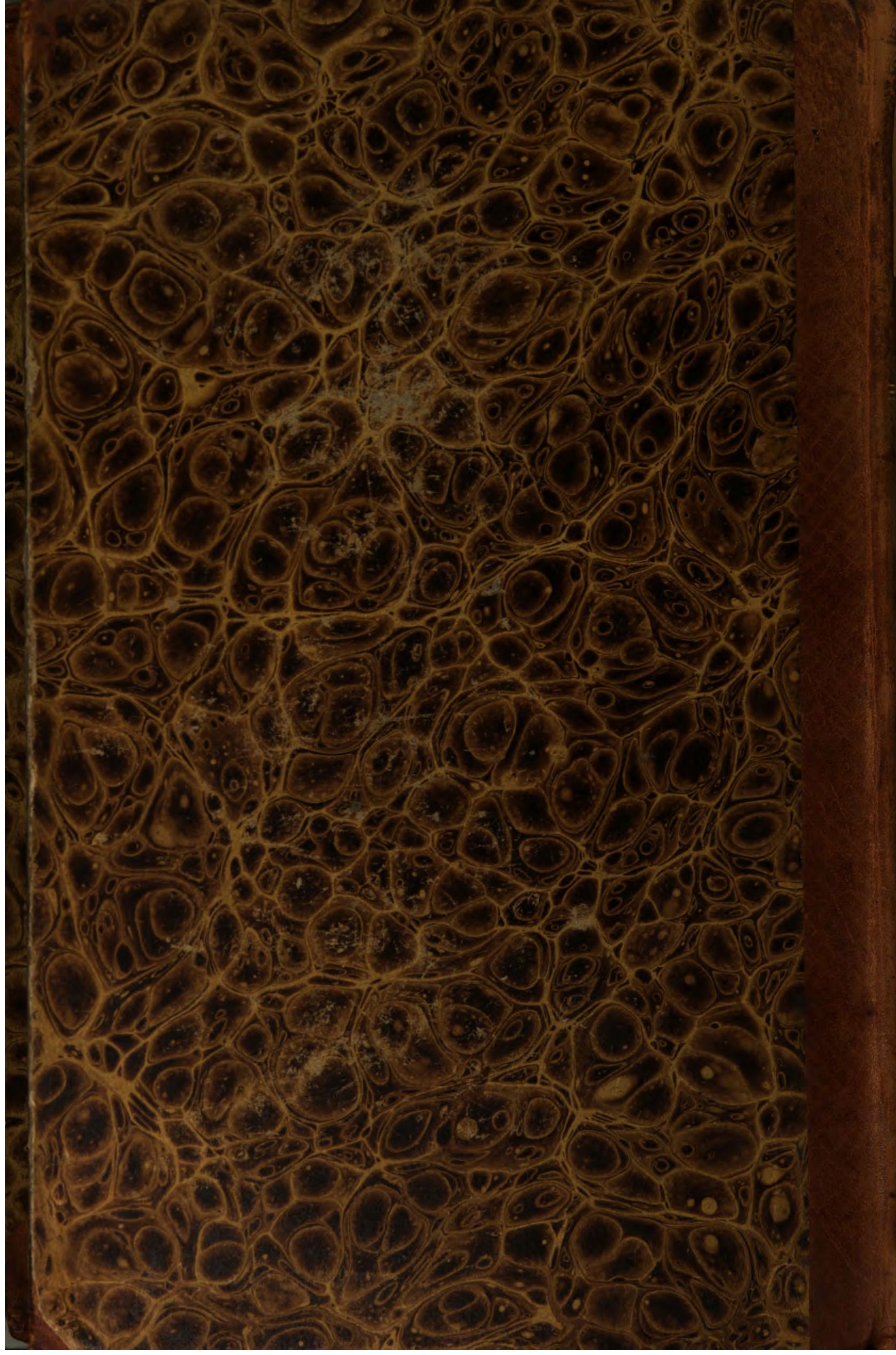
Both these countries, so interesting in themselves, are

infinitely more so to Great Britain. In them our brightest laurels by sea and land have been obtained, and with the Peninsula are associated the most pure and bright, as well as most durable and imperishable, glories of the British name. To the inhabitants of them we are mainly indebted for the glorious termination of the late war. We are bound, morally and politically, not to perpetuate their slavery and degradation; but to assist them in shaking off the incubus which has weighed them down, and enable them to rise and assume the rank and station they are entitled to amongst the nations of the earth. We have seen that in the late state of Spain, she had not a shadow of independence. This great national object can only be obtained, not by interference, but by preventing the undue interference of others, and leaving the people to reform their institutions themselves. How should we like to have a government causing the monarch from his throne to announce, that the rabble of St. Giles's was armed and only waited the signal to fall on and massacre all who were opposed to their system of rule? Yet our ideas do not differ in the slightest degree from those of the leading Spaniards; and neither rank, nor class, nor individuals in England or elsewhere, are superior to the men who lead society in Spain, and have now rallied to the throne of the infant Queen, in the confident expectation of seeing the regeneration of their country. It may be hoped, that very shortly they will announce from Madrid, in the phrase of Calomarde: "*Toda la Peninsula goza de incomparable tranquilidad,*" with the addition, *con libertad*.

END OF VOL. I.

ERRATUM.—Page 195, line 22, for *professes* read *possesses*.

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